

BIBLICAL PAPERS.

W. H. COLEMAN.

BS1192
.C69

Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY



BS1192

.C67

2. *Am. ...*

1892

1892



BIBLICAL PAPERS;

BEING

REMAINS

OF

THE REV. W. H. COLEMAN, M.A.,

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;

AND

20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1864.

HERTFORD:
Printed by STEPHEN AUSTIN.

PREFACE.

A FEW words are needed by way of introduction to the following papers, and but few, for their tale is soon told.

It was well known to the friends of the writer, that he had been long engaged in minute and extensive researches, accompanied by patient thought, for the purpose of illustrating the more striking and difficult of the poetical passages of the Old Testament. An examination of his papers after his decease showed the extent of preparatory labour, but that little had been done in the way of finished results. Of these, the following are published as some memorial of the ability and industry of their departed author, and as having, in their independence of thought and sound execution, a strong claim on the attention of the Biblical scholar and critic. The second paper has already appeared in the "Journal of Biblical Literature" for July, 1863, and is reprinted by the kind permission of the proprietors.

It may be mentioned that among the author's papers were found the framework of a treatise on the Sinaitic Inscriptions, and fragments of an elaborate and extensive one on the Geology of the Midland district. These are here noticed to complete a brief record of ripening labours thus painfully cut short by the hand of Death.

JULY, 1864.

ERRATUM.

Page 8, l. 14, *for* עם יחוח *read* עם יהוה .

THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

JUDGES, CHAP. V.

I.

FOR the taking of vengeance for Israel,
For the people's offering itself, bless ye JEHOVAH !
Hear, ye kings !
Give ear, ye princes !
I to JEHOVAH, I will sing !
I will sing to JEHOVAH, the God of Israel !

II.

JEHOVAH ! at thy going forth from Seir,
At thy marching from the plain of Edom,
The earth shook !
The heavens too dropped !
The clouds also dropped water !
The mountains melted from before JEHOVAH,
This Sinai from before JEHOVAH, the God of Israel !

III.

In the days of Shamgar-ben-Anath,
In the days of Jaël,
The highways were unoccupied,
And the travellers went through bye-ways :
The villages ceased !
In Israel they ceased !
Till I, Debòrah, rose,
Arose a mother in Israel !

IV.

He chose new Gods :
 Then was war in the gates.
 A shield,—was it seen ?—or a spear ?
 Among forty thousand in Israel.

V.

My heart is towards the governors of Israel,
 That offered themselves willingly among the people,
 Bless ye JEHOVAH !

VI.

Ye riders on white she-asses,
 Ye sitters on the seat of judgment,
 And walkers on the way,
 Meditate !

VII.

Instead of the noise of archers at the watering-places,
 There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of JEHOVAH,
 His righteous deeds towards his villages in Israel.

VIII.

Then went the people of JEHOVAH down against the cities.
 Awake, awake, Debòrah !
 Awake, awake, utter a song !
 Arise, Barak !
 And lead thy captivity captive,
 O son of Abinoam !
 Then went down the remnant against the strong ones :
 The people of JEHOVAH went down for me against the mighty.

IX.

Out of Ephraim, a shoot [of those] against Amâlek,—
 After thee, O Benjamin, [of those] against thy people,—
 Out of Machîr came down engravers.

From Zebùlun [men] handling the pen of the writer,
 And the princes of Issachar [were] with Debòrah,
 And [as] Issachar, so [was] Barak;
 Into the valley at his feet he sent [them].

X.

For the divisions of Reuben [were] great thoughts of heart!
 Why abodest thou among the sheepfolds?
 To hear the bleatings of the flocks?
 For the divisions of Reuben [were] great searchings of heart!

XI.

Gilead abode in [the land] beyond Jordan:
 And why did Dan remain in ships?—
 Asher sat at the haven of the seas,
 And in his creeks abode.

XII.

Zebùlun [was] a people jeoparding his soul to death,
 And Naphthali, in the high places of the field.

XIII.

The kings came:—they fought:—
 Then fought the kings of Canaan,
 At Taänach, by the waters of Megiddo:
 They took no gain of silver!

XIV.

Out of heaven fought the stars!
 In their orbits they fought with Sisera!
 The torrent Kishon swept them away:
 The ancient torrent,—the torrent Kishon!
 O my soul, thou hast trodden down strength!

XV.

Then were broken the hoofs of the horse :
By the pransings,—the pransings of his mighty ones.

XVI.

“Curse ye Meròz,” said the angel of JEHOVAH,
“Cursing, curse ye her inhabitants ;
Because they came not to the help of JEHOVAH,
To the help of JEHOVAH against the mighty.

XVII.

Blessed above women be Jaël !
The wife of Heber the Kenite.
Above women in the tent be blessed !

XVIII.

Water he asked :—milk she gave ;
In a dish for nobles the cream she brought.

XIX.

Her hand to the tent-peg she put forth,
And her right hand to the workman’s mallet..
And she struck Sisera, she smote his head,
And crushed, and pierced his temples.

XX.

At her feet he bowed :—
He fell,—he lay at her feet :
He bowed,—he fell where he bowed ;
There he fell down dead !

XXI.

From out the window she looked forth,
From the lattice the mother of Sisera cried,
“Why lingereth his chariot in coming ?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots ?”

XXII.

Of her ladies the wisest answered her,—
She too returned her words to herself,—
“Have they not found?—divided the spoil?
A damsel [or] twain to each head of the bold :
A spoil of many colours to Sisera,
A spoil of many coloured embroidery,
Many coloured embroidery for the necks of the spoil?”

XXIII.

Thus may all that hate thee, perish, JEHOVAH !
But [be] they that love thee, as the going forth of the sun in his
might !

NOTES.

I. In this version, or rather re-arrangement of the Song of Deborah, I have aimed at being as literal as possible, and have added as few words as I could, only where they seemed absolutely necessary to make the passage intelligible. I have also not only endeavoured to arrange the poem in the original stanzas and lines as far as my judgment would enable me, but have endeavoured by the choice of words to give to the whole some degree of rhythm, though I fear this will hardly be perceptible.

The first stanza has been restored to its poetical form (almost lost in the E.V.), simply by translating it more literally, and following the order of the original.

II. This stanza contains an obvious reference to the greatest event of Israelitish history;—the giving of the Law from Sinai. The first two lines are slightly imitated from the Ode of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. 2. The rest has had its beauties imitated, but nowhere excelled, in several places of the Psalms; by Isaiah in lxiv. 1-3; and by Habakkuk, iii. 3-6. The word “this” in the last line is rather puzzling: the LXX. found it in their copy, so that it is not likely to be an error. The only passage that occurs to me at all similar, is in 2 Kings v. 20, “Naaman this Syrian.”

III. In this stanza we have a triumphant contrast of the dubious peace enjoyed in the days of former Judges with that secured by the present victory. In those times the public roads were dangerous from the predatory bands of the enemy; and those who had occasion to journey from place to place, were under the necessity of using much precaution, and performing their journey in haste and by stealth. “In those times,” says Azariah, (2 Chron. xv. 5) “there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in.” The unwall’d “villages” were no longer safe places of residence, but were of necessity abandoned for fortified places. There seems no occasion for the word “inhabitants” supplied in E.V., the sense being quite clear without it.

The LXX. translate מְצֻרִים by *δυνατοι*, and the Vulg. by *fortes*: “The

mighty failed, in Israel they failed." I should like to know their reasons.

IV. Here we have the reason assigned for the miseries suffered by the Israelites. They were divine judgments inflicted on them for their idolatries, in fulfilment of the threats contained in the latter chapters of the book of Deuteronomy. The latter part of the stanza receives much light by comparison with 1 Sam. xiii. 19-22, and 2 Kings xxiv. 14; from which it appears to have been a frequent policy with conquerors to deprive the conquered both of their arms and the means of making them, that they might be more under control.

V. But in spite of the disadvantages under which any attempt to cast off the yoke of the Canaanites was placed, men were found willing to hazard their lives in the attempt. In the first stanza Jehovah had been praised for stirring them up to this, and in the present their praise is coupled with his. Their weapons were probably of the same rude nature as those with which the army of Saul was equipped; as we may infer from 1 Sam. xiii. 21, that the agricultural implements there enumerated were made use of in default of better arms. Shamgar-ben-'Anath had no better when he delivered Israel from the Philistines (Judges iii. 31).

VI. In this stanza the rulers of the Israelites are exhorted to meditate upon the goodness of Jehovah, in relieving them from the calamities in which they had been involved. The riding on white asses, (horses were discouraged by Moses,) was a distinction attached to the judges and other superior magistrates, as we learn from what is said of Jair (x. 4), and 'Abdon-ben-Hillel (xii. 14). And thus the Messiah is represented by Zechariah (ix. 9) as adopting the habit of the ancient judges; a prophecy literally fulfilled by our Lord at his triumphant entry into Jerusalem five days before his death.

VII. There seems no occasion to supply the words "they that are delivered," at the beginning of this stanza: it will be sufficient to translate the preposition by "instead of," to make the sense clear. This signification is rare, but it occurs in Hab. ii. 16, "instead of glory;" and in Prov. viii. 10, "instead of choice gold." The fountains and wells (usually shaded with a grove of trees) are in that country the most agreeable places of resort, and therefore doubtless much frequented in the cool of the evening. Hitherto, however, they had been places of danger, from the frequency of ambushes; for the lion is not the only animal that takes advantage of the necessity of

water to his prey. The prophetess reminds the people to praise their God as often as they experienced the happy change of circumstances in this respect.

VIII. The first line of this stanza seems incorrectly joined with the preceding by our translators, deceived by the parenthetic burst which cuts it off from the parallel lines at the close of the stanza. In these latter the LXX. have made a little confusion, but their version is much superior to the E.V. Our translators seem to have been misled by the division into lines found in some Hebrew Bibles; where we find the words *עם לאדירים* *אז ירד שויר* forming one clause or verse: but to be good grammar this should be *לאדירי עם* (*le-adirey 'âm*, not *le-adirim 'âm*) in order to give the signification "the nobles of (or, among) the people." But the word *עם* (*'am*) no doubt belongs to the next line: *עם יהוה* (*'am Jehovah*) "the people of Jehovah," *λαος Κυριου* as the LXX. rightly give it. Again, the word *ירד* (*yerad*) as pointed in the Hebrew text is clearly the present of *ירד* "to descend;" and not the present Hiphil of *רדה* "to tread under foot," which is *ירדה* (*yardeh*) or *ירך* (*yard*). It is remarkable that our translators should have given "go down" for this very same word in the first line of the stanza, and yet here have given a different meaning, following the Vulgate in opposition to the LXX. The word *לי* (*li*) "for me," means "at my request," or perhaps is merely expletive; it seems to have puzzled the LXX.

IX. Now follows a list of those who principally assisted in the battle. From Ephraim came some of the descendants of those who had fought under Ehud (iii. 27) against the combined forces of Moab, Ammon, and Amalek. This seems to be the meaning of the line; but it is obscure from its elliptic brevity: literally, it is "Out of Ephraim, —their stock against Amalek." From Benjamin came the descendants of those who had fought with a valour worthy of a better cause, against their own countrymen, as related in the last three chapters of the book of Judges. And here we may by the way observe that those chapters are out of the chronological order, since it appears from xx. 28 that the occurrences there detailed happened during the life and high-priesthood of Phineas-ben-Elazar, and therefore in all probability at least a century before the victory of Barak. By Machir is no doubt intended the Manassite portion of Gilead: Machir was the son, and Gilead the grandson of Manasseh, to whose descendants Bashan and half of Gilead were assigned by Moses. The word translated "go-

vernors" in E.V. is derived from a root signifying primarily "to inscribe" or "engrave;" whence it afterwards came to mean "to legislate" because laws were "inscribed" on tablets of stone or metal. It seems therefore to me that it would be better to translate "engravers" in the simple sense of the word; as by so doing we shall have a parallelism with the following line. It is probable that the idea intended to be conveyed is that the peaceful inhabitants of Gilead and Zebulun, being roused by the call of the prophetess, came to the war armed for lack of better weapons, with the styles and other instruments then used in writing and engraving on stone. The latter part of the stanza is difficult, and perhaps corrupt. The LXX. read "and Barak" instead of the second "Issachar;" and point שָׁלַח, ἀπεστείλε "he sent" (*shdlak*), not שָׁלַל (*shullak*) "he was sent." But the former does not improve the sense.

X. Our translators have servilely followed the Hebrew copies in attaching the first line of this stanza to the preceding, with which it surely has no connection. The Reubenites were expected to send their quota to the army as well as the Manassites: their absence caused much anxiety, and their tardiness is here ridiculed. The similarity of the words חֻקֵּי (*khiggey*) in the first and חֻקֵּי (*khagrey*) in the last line of the stanza, might lead us to suppose that one of them is an error; but, if so, it originated before the time of the LXX. The first is from the same root as that before referred to under "Machir," and may signify "engravings" or "impressions."

XI. By Gilead must here be intended Gad, though that tribe possessed but the half of it; and the Manassites, its conquerors, had imposed the name of their ancestor on the whole. The country afterwards called in Greek, "Peræa," i.e. τὰ περæια, is here as often denoted by a similar name, "the Trans-Jordan." This would have saved the commentators a world of trouble, if remembered in reading such passages as Deut. i. 1, "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel in the Trans-Jordan." The mention of ships in connection with Dan is to me quite inexplicable; neither the southern nor the northern Danites possessed any sea-coast. I could wish there were some authority for reading עֵינֹת "fountains," instead of אֲנִיֹּת "ships;" since the Northern Danites were near the sources of the Jordan. And lest I should be charged with an anachronism, I must again observe that Judges xvii. and xviii. are out of their proper place in order of time. For the Levite who was concerned in that transaction was

Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, not *Manassch*; for the Jewish critics have long ago rejected the common reading, writing *Manasseh* with the medial נ “suspended,” as it is called, *i.e.* above the line of letters, thus מְנַשֶּׁה *i.e.* מ_e^N ש_e H H or, *meⁿashsheh*. The נ being removed there remains מֹשֶׁה *mosheh*, or *Moses*, as we write it. This נ was probably put in by some Jew anxious for the credit of the descendants of Moses; and this must have been done before the time of the LXX.: the Masorites had no doubt good MS. authority for marking it as spurious.

We might perhaps translate “And why did Dan fear sorrows;” but that would not improve it.

XII. The Vulgate takes מְרוֹמֵי (*merome*) “high places,” for a proper name: “*obtulerunt animas suas morti in regione Merome.*” But this is bad grammar, and the battle did not take place at *Merom*, the lake or marsh near the sources of the Jordan, but near the torrent Kishon, “in Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo.”

XIII. Who the kings were that are here referred to, does not appear; but Jabin was probably the head of a confederacy. At the conquest we find almost every town to have its own king. These “*reguli*” must have been very plentiful, for Adoni-bezek to have “threescore and ten” subject to him. “They took no gain of silver” seems to be a proverbial expression for utter loss and disappointment.

XIV. By the stars are doubtless chiefly intended the planets, which were objects of worship to the Canaanites. These would now seem to their votaries to have turned against them; not only causing them “bad luck,” but also in all probability by a miraculous storm, which would be ascribed to them by the Canaanites. For setting aside the second stanza, which certainly has nothing whatever to do with this matter but refers to the transactions at Sinai, we have in the mention of “fighting from heaven,” and the swelling of the Kishon, pretty clear indications that Barak partly owed the victory to a miraculous storm, such as that recorded in Josh. x.

The epithet “ancient” applied to the Kishon is almost a singular one: being only paralleled by “the ancient mountains” Dent. xxxiii. 15. Is it possible that in both these places the word should be taken for a proper name?—“the Kadmonite torrent,” “the Kadmonite mountains.” If so, they received their name from the nation of the Kadmonites mentioned in Gen. xv. 19, who do not indeed occur in the

after enumeration of the tribes of Canaan; but who may possibly have emigrated and formed the Kadmeans of the Greek Thebes.

I translate the word נַחַל (*nachal*) by "torrent" advisedly. It should always be so translated to prevent confusion, such as arises in the case of נַחַל מִצְרַיִם (*nachal Mitzraim*) "the torrent of Egypt," which is a very different stream from יַאֲר (*Yeor*) "the Nile."

XV. It must be remembered here that the shoeing of horses is quite a modern invention: and that cavalry was in ancient times soon rendered useless when acting on hard and rugged ground, as seems to have been the case here. "Shall horses run upon the rock?" asks Amos (vi. 12). When it is considered that the chief strength of the Canaanites was in their "nine hundred chariots of iron," we see the propriety of the elegant allusion to the means by which this force was disabled.

By "chariots of iron," I understand "plated," or otherwise strengthened with iron; as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar's "image of gold," and the chryselephantine statues of the Greeks.

XVI. Meroz, the site of which is entirely unknown, is supposed to have been adjacent to the field of battle. Its inhabitants might probably have rendered important services, but from cowardice refused to assist their brethren. We know not how the prophetic curse took effect; but it seems to have been fulfilled to the uttermost, since Meroz is never again heard of in history.

XVII. It would seem from stanza III. that Jael the wife of Heber was herself a prophetess, and had acted as Judge previous to the call of Deborah. The terms of the commendation of Jael are remarkable, "Blessed shall she be above women in the tent."

From the mention of "tent" here and in chapter iv. 11, etc., we see that the Kenites had not abandoned their Arab mode of life. Whether they continued it till the time of Jehu, or it was then revived by Jonadab-ben-Rechab their descendant (1 Chron. ii. 55), is uncertain. Why Jael was not only justified but blessed for what seems at first sight a breach of hospitality and a treacherous murder, is a question of some difficulty. The subject has been largely discussed by others, and I shall not therefore enter upon it.

XVIII. I have preferred the word "cream" to "butter," as corresponding better to the "milk" of the preceding line. Sisera having fled a long way on foot,—from the Kishon to Kadesh-Naphtali is five and thirty miles as the crow flies,—was doubtless suffering from thirst,

for which butter would hardly be a proper remedy. Indeed, I should almost doubt whether butter, such as ours, is to be had in Palestine; but I have no book of travels to refer to. Would it not rather be in the fluid form called "ghee" in India?

XIX. On the "nails" of the Orientals, see Lowth's Isaiah, xxii. 23, note. Here in all probability the tent-pegs are intended to which the cords were attached. It does not appear that Jael cut off Sisera's head, but only drove the tent-peg through his temples to the ground. Hence, the "off" supplied in E.V. is superfluous and injurious.

XX. I have found it necessary entirely to alter the punctuation of this stanza from that of the E.V. before I could reduce it to anything like order. For the first two lines I have the authority of the LXX. The repetition adds greatly to the beauty.

XXI. "The lattice" is in the LXX. το τοξικον "the arrow-slit," or perhaps "the battlement;" it is said to be derived from an Arabic root **شَنَن** to be cool. The two following lines are literally

Wherefore blusheth his chariot to come?

Wherefore delay the steps of his chariots?

a curious personification.

XXII. I need information on the idiom רַחַם רַחֲמַיִם "a damsel two damsels:" not being satisfied whether it means "a damsel or twain," or "a damsel of two damsels," *i.e.* the better of twain. The Vulgate take the latter view of it; the LXX. are wide of the mark.

The latter part of verse 30 has puzzled me very much,—“the necks of the spoil” not being what one would expect, and the ellipse supposed in E.V. being very harsh. However, it has occurred to me that the version of the LXX. may clear up the difficulty a little. They have τῷ τραχηλῷ αὐτοῦ σκυλα, showing that they read לְצוּרוֹ (*le-tzuro*) “for his neck,” instead of לְצוּרָי (*le-tzurey*) “for the necks.” They also divide the words somewhat differently from the E.V.

A prey of dyed [colours] for Sisera,

A prey of dyed [colours] of embroidery,

Dyed [colours] of the embroiderers for his neck a prey.

where they probably pointed רֶקְמַיִם (*rok máthaim*) “two (females) embroidering,” instead of רֶקְמָיִם “two pieces of embroidery.” But still the use of the dual number remains unexplained.

THE EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER OF ISAIAH.

THE eighteenth chapter of Isaiah has long been a *crux interpretum*, and has exercised to very little purpose the wits of a host of commentators. The general bias has been towards a mystic interpretation. Either disdaining the letter, as beneath the notice of a spiritual man, or despairing the discovery of any satisfactory literal sense, writers of this class have thrown all into the regions of fancy, and wasted their time and the patience of their readers in speculations on the object of the passage as a yet unfulfilled prophecy. Yet there are not wanting a few traces, even among the fathers, of a common-sense view of the matter; and building on these as a foundation, we propose to shew that the prophecy long since received its full literal accomplishment. And indeed we very much doubt whether we are justified in looking for any other. Certain it is, that we shall be groping in the dark, if we speculate on any secondary interpretation before we have first firmly established the primary.

At the head of the mystical interpreters stand Eusebius (315) and Jerome (390). For though these fathers do seem to have acknowledged some little literal reference (and this they take to be to Egypt), yet they go off on their favourite hobby, and make us either smile or sigh at their mysticism. Jerome inconsistently blames Eusebius for this. But he himself tells us that the winged cymbal, as he translates *tsiltsal kenaphaim*, is the heresies of the Christian Church, no better than a tinkling cymbal (1 Cor. xiii. 1). Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia means, surpassing all men in impiety. The boats of the heretics are

paper boats, and of equal durability. And so on through the whole chapter.

Ashamed of such rubbish, modern commentators of this school have generally taken refuge in generalities, and been content with telling us that the whole chapter relates to "Antichrist." If they go no further than this they are tolerably safe from refutation: now and then, however, a bolder spirit will venture on a more definite application, only to suffer a total discomfiture. About the end of the last century, Edward King, a man of some repute for learning and piety, and for some years President of the Society of Antiquaries, shocked at the enormities of the French Revolution, published two tracts,¹ in which he referred many prophecies to the events then passing; and, among others, our present chapter. This particular reference drew forth an answer from Samuel Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, who, in a tract² of no great critical learning, but some common sense, shewed the impossibility that France should be "the land overshadowing with wings," as held by King. It was only natural that Horsley, with his well known bias, while he condemned King's vagaries, should continue to refer the whole to "Antichrist." Blinded by this prejudice, he has not taken much pains to develope the literal interpretation of the passage.

In our own day, and under somewhat similar circumstances of excitement from passing events, one or two persons have maintained that "the land overshadowing with wings," in this prophecy, is no other than our own country!³ The marvellous absurdity of placing England "beyond the rivers of Cush," and of crossing the Straits of Dover in "vessels of bulrushes," seems to be no obstacle to these gentlemen. Their notions are not worth the trouble of a serious refutation; and we shall waste

¹ Our copy is entitled, *Remarks on the Signs of the Times*. Second Edition. London: 1798. 4to. It was followed by *A Supplement to the Remarks on the Signs of the Times*, with many additional remarks. London: Feb. 1799. 4to.

² Horsley's tract is entitled, *Critical Disquisitions on the Eighteenth Chapter of Isaiah*. In a letter to Edward King, Esq. London: 1799. 4to.

³ Walter Chamberlain. *Isaiah's Call to England*, being an Exposition of Isaiah xviii. London: 1860. 8vo. Another writer to whom we may refer is Dr. Cumming.

no time upon them, but proceed to shew that there always was a more sane view of the meaning of the chapter.

I. Jerome (390), before he goes off into the mystical nonsense above mentioned, gives his ideas of the literal meaning. The land, he says, is Egypt, which sends ambassadors in boats of papyrus to the Jews, the people scattered and peeled, promising them help against Nebuchadnezzar (?) ; but in vain, for a great destruction (ver. 5, 6) shall fall upon Egypt, terrified by which, Israel shall henceforth trust in the Lord only (ver. 7). This opinion has been adopted by many, both ancient and modern commentators. But it is sufficient refutation to say that Egypt was not beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, and that boats of papyrus could never have made the voyage to any part of Palestine, even supposing the ordinary communication to have been by sea, which it certainly was not.

II. Procopius of Gaza (520), in his commentary on Isaiah, gives the preceding as the view of some who had gone before him, except that he makes the Egyptians the nation scattered and peeled. But he has mixed up with this another reference, which made the Assyrians under Sennacherib the sufferers at the great disaster indicated in ver. 5, 6. He had perhaps borrowed this from Theodoret¹ (425), who held that the people trodden down were the Israelites; the wasting rivers, the Assyrians, whose destruction is foretold in ver. 5, 6; and the consequent rejoicing of Israel in ver. 7.

This view has, with some modifications, been adopted by most modern commentators who have taken the trouble to inquire into the literal sense of the passage. Vitringa² thinks that even the wilfully blind cannot help seeing in ver. 5, 6, the destruction of Sennacherib's army. So also Lowth, with whose views we substantially agree, though we differ from him in some minor points, and hope we have thrown light on one or two matters which he was compelled to leave in doubt. These will be fully set forth in the notes to our translation.

¹ *Op.*, t. ii., p. 70. Lut. Par. 1639.

² Campegius Vitringa. *Commentarius in Jesaiam*, vol. i., p. 213.

The authorized English version is as follows :—

Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which *is* beyond the rivers of Ethiopia :

That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, *saying*, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto ; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled !

All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains ; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye.

For so the LORD said unto me, I will take my rest, and I will consider in my dwelling place like a clear heat upon herbs, *and* like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.

For afore the harvest, when the bud is perfect, and the sour grape is ripening in the flower, he shall both cut off the sprigs with pruning hooks, and take away *and* cut down the branches.

They shall be left together unto the fowls of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth : and the fowls shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them.

In that time shall the present be brought unto the LORD of hosts of a people scattered and peeled, and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto ; a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the LORD of hosts, the mount Zion.

NEW TRANSLATION.

Alas ! for the land of the winged Tsiltsal !
Which is beyond the rivers of Cûsh.

Despatch thou ambassadors on the sea,
And in boats of papyrus on the face of the waters :

Go ! ye rapid messengers !
Unto a nation scattered and peeled,
To a people terrible once and still,
A nation measured and trodden down,
Whose land the Naharaina have spoiled.

All ye dwellers in the world !
And inhabitants of earth !
When he raiseth a banner on the mountains, behold !
And when he bloweth with a trumpet, hear !

For thus spake JEHOVAH :
To myself will I give rest,
And consider in my own habitation,
When the heat is clear upon the Nile,
And dewy the mist in the day of harvest.

For before harvest, when the bud is complete,
And its flower is ripening into the grape ;
He will cut off the shoots with pruning hooks,
And the branches remove,—cut away.

They shall be left together,
For the fowls of the mountains,
And for the beasts of the earth :
And the fowls of the mountains shall summer upon them,
And all beasts of the earth upon them shall winter.

At that time shall a gift be brought
Unto JEHOVAH, the Lord of hosts,
A nation scattered and peeled,
Even some of a people terrible once and still,
A nation measured and trodden down,
Whose land the Naharaina have spoiled,
To the dwelling of the name
Of JEHOVAH, the Lord of hosts,
The mount of Tsion.

To the previous translation we may venture to append a metrical paraphrase.

I.

Ah ! the sunny lands that lie
Ethiopia's rivers nigh,
Haunted of the fatal fly,—
Ah ! for Meroë.
On the swollen waters high
Bid thy swiftest envoys fly ;
Let the rushen vessels hie
Up the Nile's blue sea.

II.

Let the tidings swift be borne
To a people peeced and torn ;
Mighty once, though now forlorn,
Mighty once, and still :
Measured out by haughty foe,
Trampled down, while o'er them go
ASSHUR's floods in overflow,
Working all their will.

III.

Mark, ye dwellers in the world,
When his banners are unfurled ;
Hark to the defiance hurled
By his trumpets shrill :
Thus JEHOVAH spake to me,
“ I will rest, and quiet be,
Meditating tranquilly
On my holy hill.

IV.

“ When the harvest sunbeams bright,
Glow by day ; and in the night
Dewy are the mists that light
On the azure Nile.”

For before the harvest day,
When the bloom hath fall'n away,
And through all the vineyard gay
Swelling clusters smile :

V.

HE his wrath shall execute :
Ruthlessly each rampant shoot
He shall lop,—the blasted root
Scarcely shall he spare.
There shall they be cast away,
Of each mountain beast the prey ;
And upon them there shall stay
All the fowls of air.

VI.

There they all shall find their meat ;
Winter through the beasts shall eat ;
And the birds in summer heat
There shall take their fill.
Then an offering shall be borne
Of a people peeled and torn,
Mighty once, though now forlorn,
Mighty once, and still.

VII.

Measured out of haughty foe,
Trampled down, while o'er them go
ASSHUR'S floods in overflow,
Working all their will.
They JEHOVAH'S praise shall sing
“Glorious HE ! Of hosts the king !”
And an offering shall they bring,
Unto Zion's hill.

NOTES.

[The references are mostly to the Authorized Version.]

Woe to the land.—There are two different views taken by translators of the meaning of the particle הוי in this place. The Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Syriac, Chaldee, Vulgate, German, Junius, Montanus, Italian, Belgic, Noldius, French, Spanish, Dathe, Jenour, etc., agree with the English version in looking upon it as a denunciation. On the other hand, Pagninus, Munster, Castalio, Calvin, Vitringa, Lowth, Doederlein, Gesenius, etc., consider it as simply a cry to attract attention; such as Ho! or the like. Tympe, in his notes to Noldius, maintains that the primitive idea implied by the word is that of grief and commiseration. We agree with him thus far,—that in speaking of, and not to, persons and things, הוי should be taken for Alas for them! but must maintain in opposition to him that, when addressed to a person, it is simply a cry to attract his notice. In some instances it will be difficult or altogether impossible to determine whether the words are addressed to, or spoken of, a person. Thus in Isaiah x. 5 it is doubtful whether the Assyrian is addressed or spoken of; and, consequently, whether we should translate, Alas for the Assyrian! or, Ho! thou Assyrian! We incline to the latter, the abrupt change of person at the end of the verse notwithstanding. Similarly Isaiah xxix. 1, may be taken either for Alas for Ariel! or Ho! thou Ariel! But in the following passages the address is clear: Isaiah lv. 1, Ho! every one that thirsteth! Jer. xlvii. 6, Ho! thou sword of the Lord! Zech. ii. 6, Ho! ho! come forth and flee. Zech. ii. 7, Ho! Zion! deliver thyself. While in most of the other passages, in which it is found, it is clearly an expression of commiseration: 1 Kings xiii. 30; Jer. xxii. 18, Alas for my brother! Isaiah i. 4, Alas for the sinful nation! Jer. xlviii. 1, Alas for Nebo! Ezek. xiii. 3, Alas for the foolish prophets! Nahum iii. 1, Alas for the bloody city! Hab. ii. 6, Alas for him that increases what is not his! Thus we see that it is nowhere necessary to assume the sense of Woe to! so generally adopted by the translators. To return to the passage before us, it must be confessed that we cannot from the words considered by themselves de-

termine whether they are spoken of or to the land in question. We must therefore for the present leave it doubtful whether the correct version should be, Ho! thou land! or, Alas for the land! hoping to be able to shew hereafter that the latter agrees better with the general sense of the prophecy.

Which is beyond the rivers of Cush.—As the meaning of the latter part of the first clause of the verse depends very much on the view taken of the second clause, we proceed to consider this first. And here we cannot but complain of the general carelessness exhibited by translators in the treatment of such particles as מעבר, here rendered by “beyond” in the English Version. This is the usual version, and is adapted by the Sept., Sym., Vulg., Pagn., Munst., Castal., Montan., Doederl., etc., and is true as far as it goes, though not the whole truth. But Vitringa and Dathe have *citra*, and Luther *diesseits*, “on this side;” and Junius, Belg., and Lowth differ from both the preceding, and render by the unmeaning *secundum*, “along, bordering upon.” But can it be that the term is so absurdly indefinite? Assuredly not. We have no hesitation in pronouncing these latter translations unjustifiable; and we return to the first, taken however with a modification. In reality, no preposition at all, but a substantive עבר prefixed to another substantive is equivalent to the Latin compounds with *trans*. Thus, *qui trans Rhenum incolunt* is not “who live beyond the Rhine,” but “who inhabit the Trans-Rhine.”¹ In like manner in Hebrew, the עבר-הירדן is the Trans-Jordan or Peræa in its widest sense; the עבר-הנהר is the Trans-Euphrates or Mesopotamia;—the terms in all cases having reference to the position of the speaker. Thus in the king of Persia’s decree in Ezra and Nehemiah, the Trans-Euphrates is Syria, which is beyond that river in respect of Susa. And thus, too, Moses would naturally call the west of Jordan the Trans-Jordan, as he does in Deut. iii. 25, etc., though it is the east which is usually so denominated.

But the great quarrel we have with the translators and commentators is the neglect of the prepositions prefixed to such compounds as עבר-הירדן: as if there were no difference whether כ “in,” or מ “from,” preceded them. The fact is that both have their distinct and proper meanings here as elsewhere. With the former the phrase becomes, “in

¹ Similarly in Arabic writers, the country north of the Sihûn or Oxus,—the trans-oxiana of Latin writers,—is called ما وراء النهر Mâ-warâ-al-Nahar (pronounced Mâ-warân-nahar), i.e., what is beyond the river.

the Trans-Jordan;" with the latter, "from the Trans-Jordan," though is כ sometimes used where English idiom would require "on" or "at," as in the Latin phrases, *a latere*, *a dextro cornu*, etc.

Let us proceed to apply this to a few passages in which the meaning is either incorrectly or imperfectly given.

Numb. xxi. 3. They removed (and pitched) from the Trans-Arnon.

Joshua xxiv. 3. Took your father Abraham from the Trans-Euphrates.

xxii. 7. Among their brethren from the Trans-Jordan (בְּחִיב).

xxiv. 15. Your fathers that were from the Trans-Euphrates.

2 Sam. x. 16. The Syrians that were from the Trans-Euphrates (קְרִי).

1 Chron. xix. 16. The Syrians that were from the Trans-Euphrates.

Job i. 19. There came a great wind from across the desert.

The signification is somewhat altered by the particle ל prefixed to the word denoting the boundary. In such cases כ prefixed to עֵבֶר is much the same with the Latin *de* or *ex*, implying some or a portion of, answering to the old English "of" in such phrases as, "Give us of your oil;" while the ל signifies "in respect of," and may be represented by "of." Thus Numb. xxii. 1, And they encamped in the 'Arabah of Moab, [a portion] of [the country on] the other side [in respect] of the Jordan of Jericho.

Numb. xxxii. 19. We will not inherit of the other side of the Jordan . . . our inheritance is fallen to us of the other side of the Jordan eastward. So at least runs the Samaritan and several MSS.; the printed Hebrew omits the ל in the second clause. See also Numb. xxxii. 32.

Deut. xxx. 13. Nor is it of the other side of the sea, *i.e.*, not of the products of the country beyond sea,—not a foreign production.

Joshua xiv. 3. Joshua gave them an inheritance at the other side of Jordan.

1 Sam. xiv. 1. Let us go over to the post of the Philistines, who are (rather than which is) of the other side.

It follows from all this, that in the passage under consideration the full meaning is "the land . . . which is [a portion] of the other side of the rivers of Cush." And as a nearly similar idea is conveyed by the ordinary translation, "which is beyond the rivers of Cush," this may be allowed to pass.

The rivers of Cush.—Michaelis and others are of opinion that Cush is Southern Arabia. But this is utterly disproved by the very

words here employed; for few facts in the geography of Arabia are better established than that it does not possess a single נהר or permanent river, all its waters being water-torrents נחל. There remain then to be considered the African Cush = Nubia, Abyssinia, etc., and, secondly, the country between the Gihon and Tigris, called Cush in Gen. ii. 14. In the former case the rivers of Cush would be the Tacazze and the Blue and White Niles; in the latter, the Gihon (either the Kerkhah or the Diyala) and the Tigris. We can have no hesitation in preferring the former interpretation; since, except in the passage above referred to, there is no example of the application of the name Cush to the country east of the Tigris. The land therefore which is beyond the rivers of Cush is doubtless Nubia, with its dependencies at Abyssinia,¹ etc., and chiefly the so-called island of Meroë, the modern Jezirah between the Tacazze and the Bahr-al-Azreq.

To resume, then, the whole line may be thus paraphrased: "Which is a portion of the country beyond the rivers of Nubia." And this being settled, we must now seek for some explanation of the preceding line which shall correspond to this interpretation, and equally describe the same region.

The land overshadowing with wings.]—The commentators are here divided in opinion as to whether Egypt or Nubia is the country intended: we have seen that the latter interpretation must be accepted, since it is impossible that on any probable hypothesis as to the position of the speaker, Egypt should be "beyond the rivers of Cush." However, it will be well to give all the opinions on the subject, which we may conveniently classify according to the view taken of the derivation and meaning of the word צלצל.

I. The majority derive from צל "shade;" but they differ widely in their interpretations.

1. Some take it as an active participle, "overshadowing with wings," and of these by this phrase

α. Castalio and others understand simply "great;"

β. Calvin, Ostervald, Haheisel, etc., "protecting others," specially Israel.

2. Others take it in a passive sense, "overshadowed with wings," which

α. Junius, Piscator, Grotius, Vitringa, Dathe, and others explain of

¹ The Arabic has *انهار الحبشة* "the rivers of Abyssinia."

the position of Egypt, overshadowed by the two ranges of hills bounding the valley of the Nile.

β. The Chaldee, Luther, and Munster, refer to the Nile, crowded, and as it were overshadowed by the sails of boats, which they suppose to be figuratively called "wings."

γ. Le Moyne is singular in supposing כנפים to represent the name of the god Knûph, and accordingly translates, "overshadowed of Knûph."

3. A third party, Vogt, Kocher, and D'Orville take it in a neuter sense, "for casting a shadow both ways;" and suppose it to relate to the Amphiscei (αμφισκιοι), or dwellers between the tropics.

II. The second class of commentators derive the word from צלצל "to tingle or rattle;" and among these the favourite explanation is—

1. That of the Vulgate (*i.e.*, Jerome) adopted by Bochart, Huet, Le Clerc, Lowth, etc., namely, "the land of the winged cymbal;" *i.e.*, say they, the sistrum of the Egyptians.

2. Symmachus seems to have held this derivation, though his ὁ ἥχος πτερωτος is unintelligible.

3. Doederlein makes a verb of it, "he whirrs with his wings, who sends ambassadors beyond the rivers," etc., understanding Tirhakah.

4. Michaelis, in his German version, puts forward the singular notion of an allusion to the fable of the inhabitants of the tropical regions hearing the whirr of the wings of the sun!

III. The author of the great Arabic Lexicon, called the *Qamus*, gives ظلال as a synonym of سفن "ships." This seems to be the origin of—

1. The LXX.'s πλοιων πτερυγες, wings of ships (Ar. أجنحة سفن),

2. As well as of the Chaldee's first explanation, "the land to which men go in ships."

IV. Lastly, we come to those who take צלצל for the name of an insect: a sense in which, though with different vowel-points attached, it is used in Deut. xxviii. 42. In that passage it is usually, but hypothetically, translated "locust." Michaelis (supp. 2094) would have it the "mole-cricket,"¹ without adducing any evidence of that animal's existence in Palestine; and he suggests that the same insect may be intended in the present passage, which idea is adopted by Schelling.

¹ The existence of the mole-cricket in Palestine is highly improbable, since it is never found except in wet situations on the banks of canals and ditches. See White of Selborne, letter xc.

We believe that the opinion of the insect nature of the **צִלְצַל** is the true one, though the particular animal intended has been mistaken. Michaelis himself hints at another explanation, but so slightly as to shew that he had no confidence in his own suggestion. "You may too," says he (supp., 2097), "speculate on flies; one kind of which, very troublesome to the Abyssinians, Bruce has mentioned." The identity of the Tziltzal of Isaiah with the Abyssinian gad-fly had occurred to ourselves before we were aware that Michaelis had thus suggested it; but we willingly yield to him whatever priority the above-quoted remark may entitle him to. That he did not work the idea out is not to be wondered at, when we consider the suspicion with which Bruce's statements were so long undeservedly regarded.

But before we proceed to discuss the animal intended, it will be well to shew how entirely unsatisfactory are all the other proposed explanations. In the first place, we must reject without hesitation all the interpretations grounded on the hypothesis that Egypt is the country intended. For the land in question is expressly, as we have seen, stated to be a portion of the other side of the rivers of Cush; and Egypt can by no possibility be beyond such rivers in respect of Judæa, whatever Cush or the rivers may be. On this ground, then, we reject No. I., 2, though (α) would, otherwise, be not improbable; while (β) is no peculiarity of the Nile, and (γ) is almost absurd. On this ground, then, we reject No. II., 1, which indeed merely requires an inspection of the figure of the Sistrum to refute itself. The explanations under No. I., 1, labour under the disadvantage of want of precision, since it was no more true of Cush than of several other nations, that it was great and capable of protecting; and a similar objection applies to the explanations, if they deserve that name, under No. III. The view, No. I., 3, would be probable, were it not far beyond the geographical views of those days. No. II., 3, sets all laws of Hebrew poetry and construction at defiance; and of No. II., 4, we can only say that it is quite unworthy of the usual sobriety of its author.

Let us, then, revert to the insect theory. The **צִלְצַל** of Deut. xxviii. 42 (pointed by the Masora so as to read Tzelâtzal), is presumed to be an insect destructive to vegetation. But, first, let it be well understood that we have no knowledge whatever of its nature, except by inference from the context; and that in consequence it is not even certain that it is an insect. And, secondly, let it be observed that

many translators, our own among the number, writing under the presumption that some kind of locust was intended, have somewhat strained the sense. For it is not "shall the locust consume," but, "Every tree of thine, and the fruit of thy ground, shall the Tzelâtzal possess." This may indeed signify that the Tzelâtzal should possess, and, in accordance with its nature, consume them; but it may with at least equal probability be taken to mean that the inhabitants should be compelled to abandon their lands in consequence of their occupation by an animal noxious, not to trees, but to men and cattle. Surely "possessing nations and cities" (Deut. ix. 1, and xi. 23) does not imply either the devouring of one, or the destruction of the other. Setting, then, aside the difference of the assigned vowel-points as of no weight in the argument, we have quite as much right to believe that the Tzelâtzal of Deut. xxviii. 42 is the same as the Tziltzal of Isaiah xviii. 1, as others claim to regard them as different, especially since the addition of כנפים "of wings," or "of the two wings," indicates to a certain extent the winged nature of the Tziltzal. And thus, if either the Tzelâtzal or Tziltzal be an animal and an insect at all, we have as much reason for referring it to the mosquito or the gad-fly tribe, as to that of the locusts, or other herbivorous or granivorous destroyers.

Having thus, as we trust, shewn the unsatisfactoriness of all other explanations, and the absence of any *à priori* objection to the insect theory, we may boldly profess our belief that the Abyssinian fly of Bruce is the thing intended, at least in Isaiah xviii. 1, if not also in Deut. xxviii. 42. Bruce himself seems to have been of this opinion in respect of the latter passage; for, speaking of the fly in Isaiah vii. 18, he says, "The Chaldee Version is content with calling this animal simply Zebub, which signifies the fly in general, as we express it in English. The Arabs call it Zimb in their translation, which has the same general signification. The Ethiopian translation calls it Tsal-tsalya, which is the particular name of the particular fly in Geez, and was the same in Hebrew." Now if this statement is correct—for we have no means of verifying it—it is evident from the concluding words that Bruce believed that the צלצל of Deut. xxviii. 42, was the animal intended; and that the Ethiopic translator of Isaiah vii. 18 considered the allusion there to be the terrible gad-fly of his own country. Thus, then, "the FLY, which is in the uttermost parts (קצים) of the rivers (יארם) 'Niles' of Egypt," will not, as Rosenmüller supposes, be the mosquito of the Delta, but the gad-fly of the Tacazze and Bahr-al-Azreq.

This view of Bruce has not hitherto attracted the attention it deserved; partly from the general disposition to regard his statements with suspicion; and partly from its being supposed that an insect so small and apparently insignificant, could hardly have been adopted as a prophetic emblem for the power of the Ethiopian princes Sabaco and Tirhakah. But the latter objection is quite overruled by the obviously similar description of the Assyrian power by "the bee that is in the land of Assyria." And the doubts respecting Bruce's statements either have already dissolved, or are fast melting away before the light thrown upon eastern and interior Africa by the progress of modern discovery. His despised Zimb or Tsaltsalya is now found to play so important a part in the equatorial regions of Eastern Africa, that we need no longer wonder at its being adopted by Isaiah, as the emblem of Abyssinia. Under the name of the Tsetse or Isitse it is only too well known, and too much an object of dread both to European traveller and native stock-keeper. We shall append to this paragraph some extracts relating to this insect pest,—the *Glossina morsitans* of entomologists. It may be remarked that its name Tsetse shews evident affinity to the Tsintziya of the Amharic, and Tsaltsaliya of the Geez dialect; as well as to the Tziltzal or Tzelâtzal of the Bible. The צנהצלה (perhaps pronounced Tzenhatzalah) of the Samaritan Version seems to connect the varieties in the orthography. We may even venture to suggest that the Phœnicians or Carthaginians may have carried into Italy this name for the terrible gad-fly,—adopted by the Romans in the form *Asilus*: just as it may well be believed that the same people carried to Greece the name הצרעה *hatzir'ah* for a similar animal,—written *οιστρος* by the Greeks.

Bruce's account of the Zimb is as follows:—"It is in size very little larger than a bee, of a thicker proportion, and has wings, which are broader than those of a bee, placed separate like those of a fly; they are of fine gauze without colour or spot upon them. The head is large; the upper jaw or lip is sharp, and has at the end of it a strong pointed hair, of about a quarter of an inch long; the lower jaw has two of these pointed hairs; and the pencil of hairs, when joined together, makes a resistance to the finger nearly equal to that of a hog's bristle. Its legs are serrated, on the inside, and the whole covered with brown hair or down. . . . He has no sting, though he seems to me rather of the bee kind; but his motion is more rapid and sudden than that of the bee, and resembles that of the gad-fly in

England. There is something peculiar in the sound or buzzing. It is a jarring noise together with a humming; which induces me to believe it proceeds, at least in part, from a vibration made with the three hairs at the snout. As soon as this plague appears, and their buzzing is heard, all the cattle forsake their food, and run wildly about the plain till they die, worn out with fatigue, fright, and hunger. No remedy remains but to leave the black earth [where they breed] and hasten down to the sands of Atbara; and there they remain while the rains last, this cruel enemy never daring to pursue them farther. Though his size is as immense as is his strength, and his body covered with a thick skin, defended with strong hair, yet even the camel is not able to sustain the violent punctures the fly makes with his pointed proboscis. He must lose no time in removing to the sands of Atbara, for when once attacked by this fly, his body, head, and legs break out into large bosses which swell, break, and probably to the certain destruction of the creature. . . . All the inhabitants of the sea coast of Melinda down to Cape Guardefris, to Saba, and the south coast of the Red Sea, are obliged to put themselves in motion and remove to the next sand in the beginning of the rainy season to prevent all their stock of cattle being destroyed. This is not a partial emigration; the inhabitants of all the countries from the mountains of Abyssinia to the confluence of the Nile and Astaboras northwards, are once a year compelled to change their abode, and seek protection in the sands at Beja; nor is there any alternative or means of avoiding this. Providence from the beginning, it would seem, had fixed its habitation to one species of soil, being a black fat earth, extraordinarily fruitful; and small and inconsiderable as it was, it seems from the first to have given law to the settlement of the country.”¹

We must here call attention to the exact correspondence of the geographical limits of Bruce’s Zimb with those of Isaiah’s Tziltzal. The “land of the Tziltzal” does not begin till “beyond the rivers of Cush:” the land of the Zimb is exclusively south of the confluence of the Nile and Atbara or Tacazzè.² And if any one still doubts the probability of a fly being adopted as the emblem of a country, let him observe Bruce’s unwitting testimony,—(for Bruce had no idea of the

¹ Bruce, i., 388-390, and v., 188-192.

² But if the Zimb of Bruce be confined to these limits, it will be asked, how can it be the Tziltzal or Tzelâtzal of Palestine? This confessedly is a great difficulty; and the only explanation we can suggest is this: that it is not, and never was, naturally an inhabitant of Palestine: but that the Israelites are (in the passage above

mention of his animal in Isaiah xviii. 1,)—to the important part it plays in Abyssinia. In the effects of the bite, Bruce's account differs from that quoted below, but no more than might be expected from Bruce's deficiency in scientific matters; in consequence of which he has probably confounded the blood-sucking Zimb of the Tabanidæ, with some other "bot-" producing flies of the Cæstridæ family. While on this subject we may observe that if any reliance could be placed in the dual number assigned to the word "wings" by the vowel-points, it would be a remarkable confirmation of our view, since the Zimb or Tsetse is a member of the order Diptera.

The following account of the Tsetse of the interior of the south of Africa is extracted from an account of "Oswell and Livingstone's Explorations into Central Africa," contained in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1852, vol. xxii. p. 164, etc. :—"Having come at length upon a rhinoceros trail, we allowed the cattle, which were nearly worn out by the deep dry sands through which we had passed, to run along it until their instinct led them to the water; unfortunately, however, at a part of the Mababi infested by the 'Tsetse fly.' (p. 172). . . . The bite of the Tsetse (fly) is fatal to nearly all domestic animals; yet when allowed to settle on the hand, all it is observed to do is to insert its proboscis a little further in than seems necessary to reach the blood; it then withdraws it a little, the proboscis assumes a crimson colour, the mandibles appear in operation, the shrunken body swells, and in a few seconds the animal becomes quite full and quietly leaves. Its size is almost that of the common blue-fly, which settles on meat, but the wings are longer. In the ox the following symptoms are produced by the bite of the insect. The eye runs, the glands under the jaw swell, the coat loses its gloss, there is a peculiar flaccidity of the muscles generally, and emaciation commences, which proceeds unchecked until, perhaps months after the bite, purging supervenes, and the animal perishes of extreme exhaustion. Some die soon after the bite is inflicted, especially if they are in good condition, or should rain fall; but in general the process of emaciation goes on for months. I had a horse which perished five months after being exposed to the insect. When the animal is destroyed in consequence of not being able

quoted from Deuteronomy) threatened with it as a miraculous visitation. Perhaps they had seen its fatal effects in Egypt, where it may have been one of the flies (Zebub=Zimb in the Hebrew) which formed one of the plagues. And in this connexion, it is worthy of remark that the plague of flies precedes the murrain. May it not then have been the necessary consequence of the bites of the Tsetse?

to rise, the following appearances may be observed. The cellular tissue under the skin is injected with air, and the surface of the body presents the appearance of a number of soap-bubbles strewed over the carcase. The fat is of a greenish-yellow colour, and of oily consistence. The muscles are flabby, and the heart frequently pale and softened. The lungs have diseased patches on their surface of a pink or grey colour. The liver is frequently diseased, and the gall-bladder always distended with bile. The stomach presents no particular appearance; but the small intestines are pale, and generally empty. The blood is remarkably small in quantity, and so devoid of colouring matter, that it scarcely stains the hands. The poison seems to be of the nature of a ferment, capable of propagating itself, and acts chiefly on the brain, heart, lungs, and liver. The brain seemed affected in several by the circulation of the morbid fluid; for the animal became unsteady in its gait, and sometimes even blind. The Tsetse is fatal only to domestic animals, as the wild feed in parts infested by it quite undisturbed. There are large tribes, which cannot keep either cattle or sheep because the Tsetse abounds in their country; yet it bites man and no danger follows. Our children lived for two months among the Tsetse, and were frequently bitten, but suffered no harm; while we lost most of our best oxen, after having been in contact with the fly on only one or two occasions. We have seen zebras, buffaloes, and antelopes, feeding undisturbed in the vicinity of our waggons on the Chobè, quite unmolested by the Tsetse which buzzed around them. Oxen and buffaloes, horses and zebras, antelopes and goats, jackals and dogs, possess somewhat of the same nature. What is there in domestication, which renders domestic animals obnoxious to the poison? Is man not as much a domestic animal as a dog? Is it the Tsetse at all which kills the animals? Captain Vardon of the Indian army decided this point, for he rode a horse up to a hill infested by Tsetse, and in ten days his doubts were removed by the death of his horse. A curious feature in the case is, that dogs though reared on milk die if bitten, while calves are safe so long as they suck the cow. A dog reared on the meat of game may be hunted in the Tsetse districts in safety. The Tsetse only inhabits peculiar localities, well-known to the natives. Is there any antiseptic in the fluids of game and man which does not exist in the fluids of tame animals, or in those of dogs reared on milk?"

The following, from Diodorus Siculus, iii. 22, given also in an abridged form by Strabo, 16, may possibly have originated in some

perverted account of the Tsetse:—"In Ethiopia above Egypt, along the banks of the river called Asa (Strabo says Astaboras, *i.e.*, Atbarra or Tacarre, and Astaphas, *i.e.*, Bahr-al-Azreq), lives the tribe of the root-eaters who are much annoyed by lions. . . . And doubtless the tribe would be utterly destroyed had not nature contrived for them a self-acting remedy. For about the [heliacal] rising of the dog-star, unexpectedly, there previously not having been a single fly in the place, so great a multitude of mosquitoes (*κωνωπων*) collects, of a far worse sort than any known elsewhere, that the natives only escape by taking refuge in the marshes; and all the lions fly the country, at once sorely damaged by their bites, and terrified by their noise." ¹

Ver. 2. *That sendeth.*]—With one exception all critics and translators have taken the word השלח for the participle *kal*, with the definite article prefixed; in which state it became practically a noun, "the sender," "he or it that sendeth." If so, it must here mean "the land that sendeth;" but to this there is an objection in the masculine gender of the supposed participle, ארץ "the land" being feminine. We are willing to grant that this is not an insuperable difficulty, such irregularities being not without parallel; see Michaëlis *De Solacismo*, 28. Hensler alone ventures to differ from all other critics, and takes the word for the Præt. Hophal, pointing it השלח, which he unjustifiably translates *man sendeth*, "people send." We take it for the imperative Hiphil השלח properly, "cause thou to send;" but which, in all the passages where it occurs (Exod. viii. 21; Lev. xxvi. 22; 2 Kings xv. 37; Ezek. xiv. 13; Amos viii. 11), has the simple sense of "sending." We accordingly translate it by "send thou," taking the words to be addressed by Jehovah to the prophet: our reasons will appear more clearly when we come to the clause, "Go ye swift messengers."

Ambassadors.]—The LXX. have ὁμηρα "pledges given in the place of hostages:" all others, both ancient and modern, "ambassadors or messengers;" with the exception of Bochart, who takes צירים for "images," as in Isaiah xlv. 16. He builds upon this a connexion with the rites of Adonis, as described by Herodotus. But our concern is with Cush, and not with Egypt; and Cush can by no means be the land that sends images by sea.

¹ Dr. Livingstone gives an excellent account of the Tsetse in his travels, pp. 80-83; and a figure of the insect at p. 571.

By the sea.—Taking into consideration the already established reference to Ethiopia, and the papyrus boats of the following clause,—which of course could not navigate either the Red Sea or the Mediterranean,—little doubt can remain that the name “sea” is here used to describe the Nile. Nor is this a solitary instance, for we find the Nile so denominated in chap. xix. 5, and again in xxvii. 1. And to this day it is styled by the Arabs, Bahr-Nil, “the Nile Sea;” as its two branches, the Bahr-al-Abiad, “White Sea,” and the Bahr-al-Azreq, “Blue Sea,” are even called by ourselves.

Even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters.—Here there is an almost general agreement among interpreters, that boats formed of the papyrus or some similar rush, and coated with pitch like the ark of the infant Moses, are intended. The only apparent variety of translation is that of the LXX., who have *και επιστολας βιβλινας επανω του υδατος*. It is possible, however, as Schultens (Opusc.) suggests, that this is a corruption of *επι στολοις βιβλιναις*, or even of *στολαις βιβλιναις*, if the possibility be granted that they may have used *στολη* for *στολος*, as Æschylus is thought to have done in Persæ 1018. This would mean “in fleets of papyrus;” *επιστολας* “letters,” is incapable of explanation from the Hebrew, even by Bochart’s ingenuity.

The words then thus far are the speech of Jehovah, addressed first to the Ethiopian (ver. 1) and then (ver. 2 init.) to the prophet. Or if, as we prefer, the first words be translated, “Alas for the land,” etc., the whole may be looked upon as addressed to the prophet.

Go, ye swift messengers.—An ellipsis of the word “saying” is admitted or implied by most translators. The consequence of this is, that when *השלח* is taken for a participle, “that sends,” the message becomes that of the land of Cush to some other nation. The extreme improbability of this has not been sufficiently attended to by the commentators. Those, indeed, who take the land in question to be Egypt, feel the difficulty less acutely; but we have shewn that reference to be erroneous. When, however, we translate *השלח* by “send thou,” the message becomes that of Jehovah conveyed through the prophet to the Ethiopians. Horsley seems to have been struck by the improbability above noticed, and by cancelling the word “saying,” makes the words to be those of God; but, so long as that sense is retained there can be no connexion between the present and the preceding clause, without the help of some such word as “saying.” Our version “send

thou," gives a connected sense to the whole; and will, we trust, commend itself to the judgment of our readers.

To a nation scattered and peeled.]—If our view of the meaning of the preceding passages be correct, this and the following clauses contain a description of the Ethiopians; which otherwise they could hardly do. Nevertheless, most commentators seem to take it for granted that either the Egyptians or Ethiopians are intended, without enquiring too curiously what the message is, or who sends it. Horsley, after Jerome, imagines the nation to be the Jews: while Junius supposes the message sent to the Assyrians themselves: and Koppe, with Michaelis (supp., 2170), makes it the message of the Ethiopian tribes in the interior of Africa; ingeniously finding the people of Kuku in the קוקו of the present passage.

To determine the precise meaning of the terms employed in this description is well-nigh impossible. The conjectural versions are almost endless; and the matter is rendered still more intricate by our not being even at liberty to reject those which proceed on the supposition that Egyptian peculiarities are alluded to in some of the terms employed. For, Egypt at this time forming part of the dominions of Tirhakah, it may be argued that a portion of the description may apply to it. Under these circumstances, and having nothing new to offer, we prefer to abide by the version of the English Bible, which gives an interpretation at least as good as any that has been offered; and which substantially agrees with the Chaldee.

Whose land the rivers have spoiled.]—Here at length, after the labyrinth of difficulties presented by the preceding parts of the prophecy, we obtain a most important clue to the interpretation of the whole. Some of the translators (for example, the Chaldee and Munster) have seen that the word נהרים "rivers," is to be taken figuratively for great military powers; and Jerome even indicates the Assyrians in particular. He is doubtless right; though neither he nor the rest appear to be aware that it could not possibly mean any other power than one situated on the great rivers of Mesopotamia. The word נהר "river," with its dual, and its plural both masculine and feminine, is always, we believe, when thus figuratively used, restricted to the Mesopotamian powers, whether centred at Nineveh or Babylon. As this view is one which has escaped the notice of the commentators, we shall be pardoned if we dwell a little upon it, and adduce a few instances in

which much light is thrown upon difficult passages by attention to this poetic idiom.

The key passage is Isaiah viii. 7, where the prophet distinctly explains that by the waters of the river, the strong and the many, he means the king of Assyria and all his glory. With this key then in hand, we find that the river over which Jehovah will shake his hand is the Euphrates; as the tongue of the Egyptian Sea is the Nile, and not, as most people suppose, the Red Sea; so that in this passage (Isaiah xi. 15) a humbling of both the Egyptian and Mesopotamian powers is foretold. So again Isaiah xxxiii. 21 contains a declaration that Jerusalem shall be safer under Jehovah's protection, than it would be under that of either Egypt (symbolized by יַאֲרִים "Niles," *i.e.*, Nile with its canals and branches) or Assyria (typified by נְהַרִים "rivers," *i.e.*, Tigris, Euphrates, etc.). On the same principle we may explain Isaiah lix. 19, "when the enemy shall come in like a river," to mean like the Assyrians under Sennacherib. And there is probably a similar allusion in several other passages of the same prophet. Such a view of the meaning of the word "river" would assuredly add force and elegance to Isaiah xlii. 15: xliii. 2; xlvi. 18; l. 2; lxvi. 12.

So again Psalm xxiv. 2 describes the glory of Israel as exceeding that of the western powers (יָם "the sea"), *i.e.*, Egypt, etc.; as well as the eastern (נְהַרִים "the rivers"), *i.e.*, Assyria, etc. We would translate Psalm xlvi. 4, thus, "As for the river, *i.e.*, the Assyrians and Sennacherib, its conduit-streams, *i.e.*, the spoils they leave behind them in their disastrous retreat, shall gladden the city of God;" a simple explanation of a passage which has much puzzled the commentators. Psalm lxxiv. 15; xciii. 3; and cvii. 33, present, in all probability, similar allusions. In Job xxviii. 11 we have a beautiful example of this custom of suggesting the ideas of Egypt and Mesopotamia by this mention of their respective rivers:—

He cutteth out rivers (יַאֲרִים = Niles) among the rocks,
And his eye seeth every precious thing;
He restraineth the floods (נְהַרִים = Euphrates, etc.) from leaking,
And the hidden thing bringeth he forth to light.

That is, in Egypt man raises valuable crops even from rocks by carrying among them canals from the Nile; while in Mesopotamia he drains lands buried under the inundations, and confines the Euphrates and Tigris to their channels by embankments.

Many other more or less probable examples of this phraseology

might be adduced. One of them is in Hab. iii., but the whole of that highly poetical chapter is involved in so many obscurities that it will be useless to cite it as an instance here.

To return then to our present text, it would appear that it contains no reference to the fertilization of Egypt by moderate inundations, as Lowth and others suppose; nor to its devastation by excessive floods, as most critics have understood it. It is simply a statement that the dominions of the power addressed, *i.e.*, as we have seen, of Tirhakah, king of Nubia and Egypt, had been wasted by an invasion of the Assyrians, symbolized as a flood of the Mesopotamian rivers. As this marked significance of the word would be entirely lost by translating the word by "rivers," and would not be very apparent even if we wrote "the two rivers," which latter would, we believe, be what the prophet really intended,—we propose to adopt the well-known Egyptian form of the original word, and to write it as a proper name Naharaina.

Ver. 3. *All ye inhabitants of the world.*—The prophet, or, which is much the same thing, the messengers dispatched by him to Tirhakah, here call on the whole world to listen to his announcement of the speedy destruction of Sennacherib's army, giving them certain data as to the place and time when it should be brought about. Most of the interpreters, who have not bewildered themselves with mystical references, agree in this, differing only in attributing the message to various sources. Some (Junius, Piscator, etc.) assign the words to Jehovah; others (Calvin, etc.), to the prophet. Others go wide: D'Orville, with Koppe and Michaelis, make them the address of the Ethiopians to the inhabitants of Inner Africa; Jerome, of the Egyptians to the Jews; and Eusebius, of the Jews to the Ethiopians; which last seems nearest to the truth.

When he lifteth up an ensign on the mountains.—The person here spoken of is doubtless Sennacherib. Jerome, however, interprets it of Jehovah, or of the prophet, as does Junius; but we cannot think so. The meaning seems to be, that so soon as Sennacherib, having conquered the Shephelah or Lowlands of Judæa, should proceed to attack the Har or Highlands, something noticeable would happen: and this accords with the result; for Lachish and Libnah, the last Jewish towns that he besieged, were both in the Shephelah, and nothing but the approach of Tirhakah prevented his invading the Har.

Ver. 4. *For thus said JEHOVAH to me.*—As this and the line or two next following are read and divided in the existing Hebrew text, there

is no trace of poetical structure. We at first were disposed to conjecture that some word corresponding to "in my dwelling-place," had dropped out of the preceding clause, and that the whole should be read,—

For thus JEHOVAH spake to me :
 "[In highest heaven] will I take my rest,
 And consider in my own habitation."

But if so, the words must have been lost previous to the most ancient translation we possess. Fortunately, a comparison of the Chaldee Version with the Keri-Cethib readings enables us to clear up the matter in a much more satisfactory way. The text reads אֲשַׁקֻּטָהּ, which is clearly a blunder; the Keri would correct it by cancelling the ו; but the Chaldee by its אֲנִיָּה shews that the true reading is אֲשַׁקִּיטָהּ, the present *hiphil*. Of this (see Job. xxxiv. 29) the construction is, *Quam concessit alicui ab aliquo*. We therefore separate אֲלִי from the first, and attach it to the second clause, reading—

For thus spake JEHOVAH :—
 "To myself will I give rest ;
 And meditate in my own habitation."

Like a clear heat upon herbs.—This translation rests upon two conjectures: the one that אֲנִי is equivalent to אֲנִיָּה, which is quite destitute of proof, and unsupported by the ancient versions; the other, that the latter word signifies "herbs," which is anything but certain. Even were it better founded, the rendering is barely intelligible, and exceedingly tame, though Vitranga, Doederlein, and others, who accept it, try to make the best of it. D'Orville and Rosenmüller, following the LXX., Chaldee, and Jerome, take אֲנִי in its natural sense of "light," or its poetical one, "the sun," but fail to give any satisfactory account of the preposition עָלַי. The LXX. and Jerome seem to have taken this for a substantive, "exaltations," from which they have extracted the notion of the midday sun, as if at the exaltations of the sun. It would be difficult to justify this by the production of any similar phraseology. But even allowing this rendering, whatever resemblance Jehovah at rest may bear to the midday sun, we are utterly unable to understand how he can be compared to a dewy mist.

Moved by the consideration of these difficulties, we had formed a conjecture, which we were afterwards delighted to find confirmed by the Syriac Version. This is, that instead of אֲנִי עָלַי we should divide the words אֲנִי עַל יַאֲרֵךְ "upon the Nile;" and as we cannot discover the force

of the supposed comparison, we propose to take כִּי as an adverb of time; thus we shall obtain the following clear and simple rendering:—

When the heat is clear upon the Nile,
And dewy the mist in the day of harvest.

The difficulty still remains to be explained by any known peculiarity of the climate of either Palestine, Egypt, or Nubia, the dewy mist in the day of harvest; and this difficulty is equally great whether we adopt the translation given above, or adhere to the Authorized Version. We are of opinion that in this verse there is no figure, but that the real harvest of Egypt or Nubia is intended. Some commentators seem to think that קִצִּיר here means the “vintage.” We doubt whether this can be justified: they seem to have adopted the notion from the following verse, which is by no means conclusive. The harvest there may be, not the vintage, but the genuine wheat or barley harvest; or it may be wholly figurative. Forskäl¹ tells us of the dews of Egypt: “Of no less advantage” than the rains, Nile-flood, and artificial irrigation, “are the dewy mists (*nebulae roriferæ*),” precisely Isaiah’s עֲבֹטֹט, “which are so dense about Cairo at the end of January as not to disperse before ten o’clock, and leave the trees and herbs as wet as after rain.” Whether these continue in the following month, which would almost bring us to barley-harvest, we cannot discover. Such, however, would appear to have been the case in the land of ’Uz, since Job (xxix. 19) says, “The dew (טֵל) lay all night upon my harvest (קִצִּיר);” where it is true our version and many critics take the last word to mean “branch;” though the LXX. and Vulgate agree in translating it by “harvest.”

On the whole it appears to us that the meaning intended to be conveyed is, that Jehovah would have finished his work in the destruction of Sennacherib’s army before the Egyptian summer,—nay, even before the Egyptian harvest.

Ver. 5. *For afore the harvest.*]—As noticed above, some translators, —Dathe and Doederlein, for example,—take this for the vintage, but without proof. The grapes being ripe in Egypt in July, one would suppose that the flowering season was in May. If then we are to understand literally the following expression concerning the state of the grapes, the time indicated will be the middle of June. This, however, is irreconcilable with the literal understanding of the harvest,

¹ *Flora Arabica*, xlii.

for that is over before June. And accordingly we feel inclined to a figurative interpretation of the whole of the expressions concerning the state of the vintage. This we must at least do with respect to the pruning of the vines, understanding by the immaturity of the grapes the incompleteness of Sennacherib's projects. This idea has been familiarized to us by Shakespear in the well-known passage (Henry VIII., act iii., scene 2):—

“To-day he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honours thick upon him ;
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost ;
And when he thinks,—good easy man,—full surely
His greatness is a ripening, nips his root,
And then he falls as I do.”

Ver. 6. *They shall be left together for the fowls of the mountains.*]—The LXX. translators evidently found the word הרים “of the mountains” repeated after עיט “the fowls,” in both places of this verse ; and its addition in the second place commends itself to the ear, so that we have no doubt of its genuineness. It is to be observed, however, that by a blunder, or the conceit of some pseudo-critical transcriber, της ορεινης “of the hill-country” has been converted into του ουρανου “of the heaven ;” and this corruption, it would seem from the Syriac hexaplar version, took place before the revision of Origen, who let it stand, merely marking with the obelisk the second occurrence of του ουρανου. The very same corruption has taken place in Psalm xlix. 12. Rosenmüller adduces some arguments not to be despised, in order to shew that the words קוץ and הרף should be taken in very different senses from those which the English Version, following the Chaldee and Jerome, has given. His version may be thus represented :—

And the fowls . . . shall turn sick at the sight of them ;
And all beasts of the earth turn from them with loathing.

It certainly gives us a very forcible idea of the immensity of the slaughter, that all the beasts and birds of prey should thus gorge themselves to disgust upon the carcases. But to our minds the same idea of enormous destruction is conveyed by the statement that the carcases should feed all the vultures, dogs and jackals of the neighbourhood for the next six months. We therefore prefer, even if the balance of the ancient versions is slightly against us, to adhere to the received expo-

sition. Perhaps, however, קוץ is rather *messem agere* than *æstivare*, and חרף *auctumnus agere* than *hiemare*. And as the destruction was to take place before the harvest, so now it is added that

The fowls of the mountains shall on them spend harvest,
And all beasts of the earth pass the autumn upon them.

Ver. 7. *At that time shall a gift be brought.*]—The commentators are here divided in opinion as to whether the word עם “a people,” is in apposition with the gift here mentioned, or whether the preposition מ “from,” is to be supplied from מעם “of” or “from a people” in the following line. But the latter supposes a harsh ellipse; and the former hardly makes sense. We therefore take מ in the common sense of “some of,” “a portion of,” etc., and translate:—

At that time shall be brought a gift
Unto JEHOVAH, the Lord of hosts;
A gift of a people scattered and peeled,
Even some of a people terrible once and still.

THE ODE OF HABAKKUK.

THE poem contained in the third chapter of the book of the prophet Habakkuk is generally admired as a magnificent specimen of the Hebrew ode; and, as such, it has received much attention from critics and commentators. The general opinion of these is, that it is a poetical recapitulation of the mighty works performed in past ages by God on behalf of his people; from which the prophet would draw comfort and encouragement to Israel under approaching calamities. To this opinion, thus generally expressed, I would willingly subscribe; but, when I find the exodus and the conquest of Canaan pointed out as the mighty works which the prophet had more especially in view, I am compelled to withhold my assent, in spite of the weighty names which may be produced in support of such a reference.

But before producing my own opinion on this matter, I will state to the best advantage the views taken by the generality of preceding commentators. And I cannot do this better than in the words of Bishop Lowth, who, in his twenty-eighth lecture, thus states his view of the exordium of the poem:—"The Prayer of Habakkuk is a distinguished example of that sublimity, which is an especial characteristic of the Hebrew Ode; and this is in a great measure due to an extremely bold and yet easy digression. The prophet—foreseeing the judgments of God,—first, in bringing calamities on his own people, by the agency of the Chaldeans;—and secondly, in inflicting punishment on the Chaldeans themselves:—partly struck with terror, partly refreshed by hope and faith in the goodness of God;

intreats of God to hasten the redemption and salvation of his saints." This prayer he finds in the second verse, adopting the ordinary rendering; and adds, "At this point it would readily occur to any one, what a similarity there was between the Babylonian and Egyptian captivities; and that by God's help, there might also be a similarity in the deliverances: and further, how suitably the prophet might continue his prayers to the effect that He, who had formerly wrought so many miracles on behalf of his people, would vouchsafe to succour them now also: and how forcibly he might encourage the minds of the godly by reminding them that He, who had formerly testified His infinite power in delivering the Israelites out of so great evils, might again exhibit the same in avenging their posterity. But he has entirely passed over all these methods of introducing his subject for the very reason that they were obvious: and, in the abundance of magnificent material before him, he thinks not of any introduction; but, without warning, rushes at once into the subject [with] 'God came from Teman,' etc. Indeed the prophet illustrates the whole of his subject with the same magnificence that he commenced it; selecting out of the great abundance of admirable materials, whatever was most noble: and adorning this with the most splendid colouring, imagery, and figures, and the most exalted diction: consummating and vindicating the sublimity of the whole by the elegant finish of every portion. So that were it not that a few mists of obscurity lay on one or two passages;—due, as it would seem, to the great antiquity of the poem;—scarcely anything of its kind would excel it in brilliancy and perfection."

To all this I should be disposed to agree readily, if I found the rest of the poem bearing a manifest reference to the exodus, and describing the most striking events of that period with tolerable perspicuity. Order, perhaps, it would be superfluous to insist upon; since I shall probably be told that a strict adherence to that would be scarcely consistent with sublimity. But it may nevertheless be well to point out, how utterly the order of events is supposed to be set at nought by the poet, by

those who look upon the ode as commemorative of the exodus. On this supposition the manifestations of divine power at Sinai are first introduced (v. 3 and 4); then the destruction of the first-born (v. 5); next the conquest of Canaan (v. 6);—for “nations,” “mountains,” etc., can by no possibility have any reference to Egypt: we then retrograde to the defeat of Midian described in Numb. xxxi. (v. 7);—unless with some commentators we prefer a reference to Othniel’s defeat of Cushan-rishathaim, and Gideon’s slaughter of the Midianites. Next (v. 8), again reversing the order of the history, we come back to the passage of the Red Sea; unless we prefer, with other interpreters, to suppose that the passage of the Jordan is referred to. Then (v. 9) the prophet is supposed to return from the bow bared for the conquest of Canaan to the miracles of Rephidim and Qadesh; from which we are again sent forward (v. 10) to the passage of Jordan, and proceed (v. 11) to the miracle of Joshua, and the conquest of Canaan (v. 12 and 13); where some would increase the disorder by supposing the “heads” in v. 13 and 14 to signify the Egyptian first-born. Finally, at v. 15, the prophet is supposed again to recur to the passage of the Red Sea. Now contrast all this disorder with the strictly historical arrangement of Psalms cv. and cvi.; or with the elegant contrivance by which, without any disorder, the arrangement is diversified in Psalm lxxviii; and let it be confessed that Habakkuk, thus misunderstood, must suffer by the comparison: and that some of the Bishop’s eulogy would thus be undeserved.

But not to attach too much weight to the disorder, which this interpretation presumes, let us proceed to enquire whether the ode, thus understood, exhibits the principal events of the exodus and conquest with any tolerable perspicuity. In other poetical passages, whether triumphant or prophetic, having reference to Egypt, there is always something to make the reference evident. Either the words Mizraïm, Ham, Zoan, Pharaoh, etc., are expressed, or the scene is fixed by the use of the word יַעֲרַךְ Yeör, for the river of that country; or by allusion

to the characteristic animal of that river, the leviathan or crocodile ; as *e.g.* in Psalm lxxiv. 14, and Isaiah xxviii. 1. But where do we find any of these marks in Habakkuk ? the rivers are not the נַחַל or "Nile;" the leviathan, serpent, or dragon does not appear ; the only proper names of people are Cushan and Midian,—both by the context determined to be Bedouin Arab tribes. Thus, then, Egypt the oppressor is not once mentioned ! And where again is there any allusion to its plagues ? Not in v. 8, which, as we have seen, cannot apply to the Nile. But perhaps v. 5 and 14 contain references to the death of the firstborn. Very obscure ones, it must be granted ; and in the latter case not very easily reconcileable with the statement that these same "heads" had "come out as a whirlwind to scatter" the Israelites. Again, where is the passage of the Red Sea ? I shall doubtless be triumphantly directed to v. 8 and 15. But, with respect to the first of these, the reference is far from certain. I would venture to suggest that the law of parallelism requires that "rivers" and "sea" in this passage should be taken as synonymes or quasi-synonymes ; and, therefore, that the one is but a variant, or word used for variety's sake, for the other. Now the repetition of the word "rivers" seems to me to show that all the emphasis lies there ; and consequently, that a "river" or rather "rivers," is the thing really intended ; while "sea" is simply a variant. Well, then, it will be said, we must confess that the "river" is the Jordan. Softly, my friends ; I shall be more disposed to admit this, when you have shown me one passage in which the Jordan is called a "river" at all ; much less "rivers." Psalm lxxiv. 15 is the only one that can be produced for this purpose with the slightest probability ; but it is far from certain that the Jordan is there intended. And if the "rivers" be the Jordan, you will only have shown that the poet, contrary to Lowth's assertion as to his selection of "whatever was most noble," has made less of the greater miracle, the passage of the sea, than of the less, the crossing of the river ; for which, the slight mention of the former in v. 15 can scarcely

be thought to make amends. But, to proceed,—I will not object to the reference of v. 3, etc. to the giving of the law from Sinai, provided that v. 5 be no longer claimed as an allusion to the death of the firstborn. Neither will I deny that the last clause of v. 9 might possibly relate to the miraculous flow of water at Rephidim, and at Qadesh. But where is the victory over the great and powerful nation of Amalek? where is the miraculous supply of food in the desert? where, in short, is everything? and why is it passed over to hasten to the not very important defeat of a tribe of Bedouin Arabs, while the far more important victories over Sihon and 'Og are never once alluded to? So strongly does Arch. Newcome feel the absence of the important personages just mentioned, that he endeavours to get one at least of them into the ode by a most rash conjectural reading, unsupported by MS. or version. Grant that v. 8 or 10 describe the passage of the Jordan, though I cannot so understand them; and grant that v. 11 describes Joshua's miracle; yet what a strange perversion of the history should we meet with here! The sun is stopped in his course in order to give the Israelites a longer time for the destruction of their enemies,—yet after all it is so dark that but for the lightning the Israelites could not have pursued them! This glaring absurdity Michaelis could see no way of getting over, but by the use of the desperate expedient of questioning the authenticity of the passage in Joshua. See his note 101 on Lowth's twenty-third lecture. Finally, the common view of the ode gives no intelligible account of the person styled "thine anointed" in the singular number. It has been attempted to get over the difficulty by reading the word in the plural number on the authority of three or four not very ancient Hebrew MSS., and the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX.; all which have in all probability been tampered with by critics, who had felt the difficulty of reconciling the received reading with the ordinary interpretation of the poem.

Instead, then, of commending the poet for sublimity, brilliancy and judgment; I should, if I adopted the common inter-

pretation, feel compelled to condemn him for turgidity, obscurity, disorder, and incapacity to distinguish the salient points of the history; though I might still give him credit for beauty and sublimity in one or two passages. But unwilling to class Habakkuk with the poets of an iron age, I have sought for some explanation of his poem which might clear up its obscurities and introduce some degree of order into it. I have indeed sought in vain for any such explanation in the works to which I have access; but, almost from the time when I first turned my attention to the ode, I formed my own judgment of its relation to the history; and the more I have studied the poem, the more have I been convinced of the correctness of my view.

It will doubtless excite some surprise when I announce my opinion to be this: that the prayer (as it is miscalled) of Habakkuk, is in fact an ode of triumph commemorative of the destruction of the army of Sennacherib. And I will allow that so novel an interpretation stands in need of some vindication.

In the first place, then, I would observe that there is no necessity to suppose that, because the ode opens with a reference to the exodus (or rather to the proclamation of the law from Sinai), the whole of the poem must be devoted to the same subject. It would seem to have been a frequent custom of Israelitish poets to make use of this, the greatest event in their history, and the one in which the might and glory of Jehovah their God was most clearly shown, as a proper introduction to the mention of any signal manifestation of divine power. Thus we find Deborah describing the intervention of God in the victory over Sisera under the image of Jehovah's marching from Sinai through the country of Edom to the deliverance of his people. In almost the same words David in Psalm lxxviii. draws an exulting comparison between his own removal of the Ark and the march of the Shechinah through the Desert; and again in his psalm of thanksgiving (2 Sam. xxii.) we find him using the imagery of the same magnificent event in commemorating the deliverances which he himself had experienced. So

again it is a favourite method with Isaiah to employ language drawn from the exodus in foretelling the return from the Babylonish captivity,—as, for example, in his fortieth chapter; in his notes on which Lowth has pointed out other examples of the practice. Need we wonder, then, that this glorious manifestation of the power of Jehovah, at all times dwelt upon with peculiar exultation by the Israelite, should have been employed in celebrating the miraculous destruction of the army of the Assyrians?

But, it will be asked, where is the evidence that the Ode of Habakkuk relates to the overthrow of Sennacherib; since neither his name nor that of his country is once mentioned in it? I answer that the key is to be found in the word used to denote “rivers” in the 8th and 9th verses. Had this word been יַעַר *yeör*, I should have had no hesitation in referring the whole ode to the exodus. But the word employed is נָהָר *nâhâr*, or rather it is נְהַרִּים *naharâim* or *nehârim*, the dual or plural, “the rivers,” or “the two rivers;”—words which are well known often to designate the great powers, whose seat was on the two rivers of Mesopotamia; and which, in the form *Naharaina*, are found to be the ordinary terms for them on the monuments of Egypt. For this interpretation of the word *nahar* we have the express authority of Isaiah (viii. 7); and I have elsewhere shown how much light is shed by this view of its meaning upon several otherwise obscure passages. This is the key to the meaning of Psalm xli., which, like the ode which forms the present subject of discussion, I had upon this account determined to be a song of triumph over Sennacherib, long before I became aware that ancient tradition gave it the same reference. So also the ninety-third Psalm is shown by the same mark to be in all probability a hymn composed under the apprehension of an attack, either of that king, or of some other Assyrian or Chaldæan leader.

We shall hereafter see how easily the whole of the ode may be referred to the circumstances of the Assyrian invasion. I therefore proceed to consider the objections, which may be

raised on chronological grounds, against such a reference. And here let it be carefully borne in mind that there is not a tittle of external evidence to fix the era of Habakkuk. From internal evidence, Archbishop Usher would place him in the reign of Jehoiakim about 609 B.C. Grotius and others, however, more justly refer him to the times of Manasseh ; but their arguments rest in part on the unsafe assumption that the minor prophets are chronologically arranged. Let us enquire a little into the matter for ourselves.

If we accept the chronology of Prideaux, the catastrophe of the Assyrian army occurred in the year B.C. 710 ; and the ode must on our supposition have been composed shortly after, while the event was yet fresh in the memory of the Israelites. Indeed, I am inclined to look upon the latter part of the ode (v. 17, 18) as an indication that Judah was suffering under the dearth, which from 2 Kings xix. 29 would appear to have followed the Assyrian invasion. This will fix the date of the ode to 709 B.C. Supposing then the triumphal ode to have been composed by Habakkuk in his youth, and the prophecy comprised in the first two chapters to have been written in his old age, we cannot safely place the date of this latter at a later period than 659 B.C., or fifty years after the former. The question then arises, whether Habakkuk could, at a period not later than 659 B.C., speak of the rise of the Chaldaean power as “a work to be wrought in the days” of the generation then living. Now the power of Babylon can hardly be said to have begun to rise before the year 626 B.C., the date of the rebellion of Nabopolassar against the Assyrians. In our Saviour’s prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, we find the words, “this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled,” used of events then six and thirty years distant. It will, therefore, be no outrage on probability if we assume that Habakkuk might have used a similar form of speech thirty-six years previous to 626 B.C., *i.e.*, in the year 662 B.C., a point of time three years earlier than that above assigned as the latest probable date of the prophecy. There is therefore no insuperable objection to

be drawn from chronology to our hypothesis that the Ode of Habakkuk was composed in the year B.C. 709, in commemoration of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's host the year preceding; and that his prophecy was delivered nearly fifty years after, towards the end of the reign of Manasseh. We shall thus to a certain extent have the weight of Grotius and others on our side, against Usher, whose date for Habakkuk is certainly much too late; since in the year 609 B.C. it could hardly be spoken of as a thing which men "would not believe though it were told them," that the powerful nation which had already in 612 B.C. overthrown the Assyrian Empire and destroyed Nineveh, should hereafter conquer Judæa also.

Let us now proceed to an examination of the ode itself, that it may be seen whether the supposed reference to Sennacherib is borne out by the contents of the poem. We find it opening with a preface, which though marvellously misunderstood by all, both ancient and modern commentators, was apparently clear enough to some of the ancient Greek translators from whom our present Septuagint text of this prophet has been compiled. It is clearly a statement on the part of the writer of his claim to the prophetic office; precisely similar in nature, though less detailed, to those made by Isaiah (vi. 1) and Ezekiel (i. 1, etc.), and arising from the circumstance that he had been favoured with a manifestation of the Shechinah, or Divine Presence. The feelings of the prophet under the awe inspired by the vision, as expressed in the cry "in wrath thou rememberest mercy!" are natural enough, and remarkably similar to those expressed by the gestures of Ezekiel, Daniel, and St. John in like circumstances; and still more to the words of Isaiah, "Woe is me! . . . for mine eyes have seen the king, the Lord of Hosts!"

Then in v. 3 and 4 the poet, by an easy and most elegant transition, rather than with the abruptness which Lowth presumes, represents the Shechinah at the time of his vision as in the act of moving through the deserts to the south of Judah. Jehovah appears there, or perhaps we should rather say, his

presence is there indicated and veiled, under the full glories of the ancient Sinaitic manifestation.

In the 5th and two following verses it is announced that this revelation of Jehovah is in anger. He is attended by two destroying angels, דֶּבֶר *deber*, or "pestilence," and רֶשֶׁף *resep̄h*, "burning heat," or "fever." All nature, the idols, and especially the Arab tribes of the desert, are in supreme consternation, as not knowing on whom the wrath of Jehovah is about to be poured out.

The interest of the auditor, and his curiosity, having thus been excited to a high pitch by this magnificent and protracted exordium, our poet at length reveals the object of all this preparation. He represents himself in v. 8 as astonished at finding that Jehovah's wrath was against the forces of Assyria,—the Naharaina, or Empire of the Two Rivers.

The scene of the catastrophe of Sennacherib's army is nowhere particularly mentioned in the Scriptures. It has, indeed, been inferred from the language of Psahn lxxvi. that it took place not far from Jerusalem. But this is not necessary; and from the Egyptian version of the story, preserved by Herodotus, it is highly probable that it occurred in the desert between Pelusium and Gaza, while Sennacherib, having defeated Tirhakah, was on his march to lay siege to Jerusalem. The agent employed by the Deity is very generally supposed to have been the simoom, or hot pestilential wind of the desert. How natural then and apposite, yet how sublimely beautiful, is the imagery which the prophet has employed! Deber and Resep̄h, the destroying angels, who would have been out of place at the pacific though awful manifestation at Sinai, are here most appropriately introduced as the ministers of his vengeance on the Naharaina.

Instead of proceeding with an account of the catastrophe, the prophet now reverts in an easy and natural manner to the causes which had thus drawn forth the indignation of Jehovah. It was to avenge the cause of Judah devastated by Assyria. This devastation he describes under the beautiful metaphor

which Isaiah had previously used in foretelling the same event, depicting it as an inundation of the land of Judah by the rise of the Euphratean streams. The passage must be compared with Isaiah viii. 7, 8 :

“Behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them,
The waters of the River, the strong and the many ;
The King of Assyria and all his glory.
And he shall rise over all his channels,
And go over all his banks :
And shall pass through Judah, overflowing and spreading ;
Unto the neck shall he reach ;
And the stretching out of his wings shall be
To the full breadth of thy land, O Immanuel !”

In our prophet the land is torn by the rush of the floods : the mountains, the hill country of Judah, in which was Jerusalem, acknowledge the divine character of the judgment : the deep,—the Assyrian in his pride, lifts up his voice, sending “to defy the living God :” the height,—the same Assyrian in his power, raises his hand to destroy Jerusalem : the sun and moon,—Hezekiah with his ministers and princes, “stand still in their habitation,” that is, are reduced to a state of helplessness : while their “light” and “splendour,” that is, their power, is superseded by the flashing of God’s spears and arrows, the military power of the Assyrians.

In v. 9, 10, Jehovah had been represented as the chastiser of his people ; but at v. 12 he re-appears as their avenger, just as in Ex. xii. 23 Jehovah Perditor, as a Roman might style him, suddenly becomes Jehovah Servator. He comes forth in defence “of his own people” Israel, and “for the salvation” of King Hezekiah, “his Anointed.”

Then follows a brief allusion to the destruction of the Assyrians ; and, if I rightly understand v. 13 and 14, to the subsequent miserable end of their prince by the hands of his own children. In this it is kept in view that their punishment was a judgment upon them for the injuries inflicted on Judah during their invasion : when Assyria had “rushed as a whirl-

wind to scatter him;" and the flood of the Naharaïm had "bared the foundation up to the neck;" or (as the Chaldee Paraphrast, and Lowth following Rabbi D. Kimchi, well explain the parallel passage in Isaiah viii. 8) when Jerusalem the head had alone escaped destruction.

At v. 16 the prophet recurs to his own personal feelings on a view of the majesty of Jehovah as displayed in these events; and possibly also in the special revelation made to himself. He expresses the awe with which they had inspired him; and goes on (v. 17) to express in words which denote a prophetic acquaintance with the captivity which his people should suffer at Babylon, to record his thankfulness that the evil should not happen in his days. In this the correspondence between his sentiments and those of Hezekiah (2 Kings xx. 19; Isaiah xxxix. 8) is striking, and adds to the presumption that they were contemporaries. In the following verses he, with much pathos and elegance of language, sets forth his own trust in God, and submission to his will, under the present calamity of famine, superinduced by the Assyrian invasion. And he concludes the whole with a species of doxology, borrowed from David's Hymn of Thanksgiving (2 Sam. xxiii. and Ps. xviii. 32).

If this explanation of the Ode of Habakkuk be correct, we find it to afford a clear and methodical, though highly poetical, narrative of one great event; in place of the confused jumble of times, events, and images, which the old interpretation supposed. And our poet, praised even when not understood, will I trust, now that the clouds which obscured him have been swept away, shine with redoubled lustre; and be acknowledged by all to stand beside his contemporary Isaiah in the foremost ranks of Hebrew poetry.

It will be seen that in the foregoing observations I have occasionally departed from the ordinary rendering, and even the received Hebrew text of the prophet. I proceed to exhibit my view of his meaning, both in a literal Latin version, and a close English translation; and have added the Authorised English, the Vulgate, and Septuagint versions; completing my little

hexapla with a Hebrew text corrected from the indications furnished by the LXX. as to the state of the text in their time, as well as from the various readings of the MSS. To the whole I have added notes, grammatical, critical, and explanatory; for the meagreness of which I must entreat the reader's indulgence, inasmuch as owing to the very different views of my predecessors, I find their comments of very little use to me.

METRICAL VERSION.

THESE ears, JEHOVAH, heard with awe thine herald angels' cry:
 These ears, JEHOVAH, dazzled saw thy glorious pomp pass by.

Amid the Twain thy Presence shone :
 Amid the Twain thou madest it known :
 My heart's in pain !—it sinks with fear !
 Thy wrath restrain !—in mercy hear !

From Teman God shone forth in flame ;
 The Holy One from Paran came :
 His Praise was spread the earth around ;
 His Glory highest heaven crowned :
 His Splendour like the sun-light spread ;
 Bright beams blazed all around his head,
 And there his Power was veiled :
 Before him stalked consuming Pest,
 And feverish Heat at his behest
 His awe-struck foes assailed.

He stood—and scanned this earthly ball ;
 Gazed—and dispersed the nations all :
 Their tops the eternal mountains humbled ;
 In dust the ancient hills were crumbled.
 Eternal paths are his alone ;
 The humbled gods his empire own.
 The tents of Cushan own his matchless might ;
 And Madian's curtains shake with sore affright.

And was it on the River Powers was poured thy wrath, O God !
 And was it on the River Powers that fell thy vengeful rod !
 Gainst Asshur's multitudinous tide went forth thine indignation,
 When on thine horses thou didst ride, thy chariots of Salvation,
 Thy bow was raised,—thy quiver wide was gorged with devas-
 tation !

With furious rage thine heritage
The Rivers' torrent rifted :
The Mountains gazed in terror sore ;
The overflowing Flood passed o'er ;
The Deep gave out his impious roar ;
On high his hands he lifted.
Aghast in heaven stood the Sun ;
The Moon her course forgot to run.
Thy lifted lance, with gleaming glance, their splendour superseded :
Thy bolts so bright, with lurid light, their excellence exceeded.

Then through the earth thou marchedst forth,
To thrash the nations in thy wrath :
From ruin camest thy Land to save,
And thine Anointed from the grave.
Thou piercedst through that impious head, whose flood had well
nigh drowned us ;
Through his own heart his own swords sped, whose storm
rushed to confound us ;
Who in his gloomy lurking hole, far from the lightsome day,
Minded to make the humble soul his unresisting prey.

On his tide, most Mighty God !
On his floods thine horses trod !
The raging waves were humbled.
Hearing thee my heart did quake,
At the din my lips did shake,
Corruption all my bones did take,
My feet beneath me stumbled.

Though days of woe are coming, I
Then in the tomb at peace shall lie :
When captives from their homes forlorn
My people by their foes are torn.

Then though no fruit the fig-tree rear, no cluster grace the vine;
Although no corn mature the ear, the blighted olive pine;

Although no flock in fold be found,

From stall no low of oxen sound;

Still in JEHOVAH's word shall be my only Consolation:

Still I will trust eternally the God of my Salvation.

JEHOVAH is my strength, my pride; HE makes my feet to rest,
Like hart that hath the chase defied, upon the mountain's crest.

VERSIO LXX. INTERPRETUM.

2 Κυριε, εισακηκοα την ακοην σου, και εφοβηθην.
 Κατευνησα τα εργα σου, [και εξεστην].
 * * * * *
 Εν μεσω δυο [ζωνων] γνωσθησθι.
 Εν τω παραχθηναι την ψυχην μου.
 Εν οργη ελεους μνησθησθι.

3 Ο Θεος εκ Θαιμαν ηξει.

Και ο αγιος εξ ορους Φαραν. Διαψαλμα.

Εκαλυψεν ουρανους η αρετη αυτου.

Και ανεσεως αυτου πληρης η γη.

† Και φεγγος [αυτου] ως φως εσται.

Κερατα εν χερσω αυτου *αυτω*.

Και εθετο αγαπησιν κραταιαν ισχυος αυτου.

5 Προ προσωπου αυτου πορευσεται λογος.

Και εξελευσεται *εν πεδιους οι ποδες* αυτου.

VERSIO LATINA AD VERBUM.

Jehovah! audiivi auditionem-tuam:
 Et-vidi, Jehovah! operam tuam.
 In-medio duorum indicavit-illum:
 In-medio duorum notam-facis.
 In-perturbatâ animâ-meâ intra-me:
 In-perturbatione misericordie recordaris.

Deus ex Theman venit:

Et-Sanctus de-monte Pharan. Selah.

Operuit coelos gloria ejus:

Et-laude ejus impleta-est terra.

Et-splendor quasi-lux est:

Cornua-duo e-manu-ejus illi:

Et-illie occultatio roboris-ejus.

Ad-frontem-ejus it pestis:

Et-exit febris ad-pedes-ejus.

TEXTUS HEBRAICUS.

2 יהוה שמעתי שמיע
 [ו]ראיתי יהוה פעלך
 בקרב שנים ה[ו]הו
 בקרב שנים תודיע
 [ברגו נפשי בי]
 ברגו רחם תזכור

3 אלוה מתמן יבוא

וקדוש מרח פארן סלה

כסה שמים הורו

ותהלתו מלאה הארץ

4 ונגה כאור תהיה

[ו]קרחנים מידו לו

ישם הבין ש[ו]

5 לפניו ילך דבר

ויצא רשק להגליו

VERSIO LATINA VULGATA.

NEW TRANSLATION.

AUTHORISED ENGLISH VERSION.

2 Domine, audiivi auditionem tuam et O JEHOVAH ! I heard thy voice : O Lord, I have heard thy speech, 2
timui :

Domine, opus tuum And I saw, O JEHOVAH ! thy work. [And] was afraid : O Lord, revive thy
In medio annorum vivifica illud ; In the midst of the Twain he declared work in the midst of the years,
it :

In medio annorum notum facies. In the midst of the Twain thou makest In the midst of the years make known ;
[it] known.

* * * * * When my soul is dismayed within me, * * * * *
Cum iratus fueris misericordiæ record- In [my] dismay thou rememberest mercy. In wrath remember mercy.
aberis.

3 Deus ab Austro veniet, God cometh from Teman, 3
Et Sanctus de monte Pharan. And the Holy One from Mount Paran.

Selah. Selah.

Operuit cælos gloriæ ejus, His glory covered the heavens,
Et laudis ejus plena est terra. And with his praise the earth was filled. And the earth was full of his praise.
4 Splendor ejus ut lux erit, And there is brightness as the light, 4
Cornua in manibus ejus ; And rays from both sides to him : He had horns [coming] out of his hand :
Ibi abscondita est fortitudo ejus. And there [was] the hiding of his might. And there [was] the hiding of his power.

5 Ante faciem ejus ibit mors : At his front marches Pestilence : Before him went the pestilence, 5
Et egredietur diabolus ante pedes ejus. And Fever goes forth at his feet. And burning coals went forth at his feet.

VERSIO LXX. INTERPRETUM.

6 *Εστη, και εσαλευθη η γη*
*Επεβλεψε, και διετακη εθνη. * και**
*Διεβρυβη τα ορη βια**
Ετακησαν βουνοι αιωνιοι
Πορειας αιωνιας αυτου
 7 *Αντι κοπων ειδον*
Σκηνωματα Αιθιοπων πτοηθησονται
[Και] αι σκηναι γης Μαδιαμ.

8 *Μη εν ποταμοις ωργισθης, Κυριε;*
Η εν ποταμοις ο θυμος σου;
Η εν θαλασση το ορημα σου;
Οτι επιβηση επι τους ιππους σου
Και η ιππασια σου σωτηρια.
 9 *Εντευων ενετεινας τοξον σου*
** Επτα* σκηπτρα λεγει [Κυριος]. Διαψαλμα.*
Ποταμων ραγησεται γη

VERSIO LATINA AD VERBUM.

Stetit et commovet terram :
 Vidit et tremefecit gentes.
 Et dissilient montes ætatis :
 Inclinaverunt-se colles æternitatis.
 Incessus æternitatis illi :
 Infra vanitatem vidi.
 Tentoria Cushan perturbantur :
 Velamina terre Midian.

Num-in-fluvios iratus-est JEHOVAH ?
 An in-fluvios ira-tua ?
 An in-mare furor-tuus ?
 Quod equitas super-equos-tuos ;
 Et-curros-tuos salutis.
 Nudatione nudatur arcus-tuus,
 Execrationes hastarum dicens.
 Fluviiis findis terram.

TEXTUS HEBRAÏCUS.

עמד וימדד ארץ 6
 ראה ויתר גוים
 ויתפצצו ההר' עד
 שחו גבעות עולם
 הליכות עולם לו
 תחת און ראיתי 7
 אהלי כושן ידגון
 יד'יעות ארץ מדין
 הבהרים הרה יהוה 8
 אם בנהרים אפך
 אם בים עברתך
 כי תרכב על פוסדך
 [ו]מרכב[ו]תך ישועה
 עריה תעור קשתך 9
 שבעות מפות אמר פלה
 נהרות תבקע ארץ

6 Stetit, et mensus est terram :

Aspexit, et dissolvit gentes.

Et contriti sunt montes seculi :

He stood, and moves the earth :

He beheld, and shakes the nations.

And the eternal mountains crumble :

He stood, and measured the earth :

He beheld, and drove asunder the nations.

And the everlasting mountains were scattered,

Incurvati sunt colles mundi,

Ab itineribus æternitatis ejus.

7 Pro iniquitate vidi

Tentoria Æthiopiæ, turbabuntur

Pelles terre Madian.

The everlasting hills did bow.

Everlasting ways [are] his :

The idols I beheld beneath [him].

Troubled were the tents of Cushan :

The tent-cloths of the land of Midian.

The perpetual hills did bow :

His ways [are] everlasting.

I saw the tents of Cushan in

affliction : [and] the curtains of

the land of Midian did tremble.

8 Numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine?

Aut in fluminibus furor tuus ?

Vel in mari indignatio tua ?

Qui ascendes super equos tuos :

Et quadrigæ tuæ salvatio.

9 Suscitans suscitabis arcum tuum,

Juramenta tribubus quæ locutus es

Fluvios scindes terre.

Against the Rivers was JEHOVAH angry ?

Against the Rivers [was] thy wrath ?

Against the Sea [was] thine indignation ?

That on thy horses thou dost ride,

And thy chariots of Salvation.

Stripped naked is thy bow,

Denouncing curses on [their] powers.

[With] rivers thou cleavest the Land.

Was the Lord displeased against the rivers ?

[Was] thine anger against the rivers ?

[Was] thy wrath against the sea ?

That thou didst ride upon thine horses,

And thy chariots of salvation ?

Thy bow was made quite naked, [according to]

The oaths of the tribes, [even thy] word.

Selah.

Thou didst cleave the earth [with] rivers.

TEXTUS HEBRAICUS.

VERSIO LATINA AD VERBUM.

VERSIO LXX. INTERPRETUM.

- 10 *Οψονται σε και ωδινησουσι λαοι*
Σκορπίξων υδατα πορειας
Εδωκεν η αβυσσος φωνην αυτης
Υψος φαντασias αυτης· επιρθη
 11 *Ο Ηλιος, [και] η Σεληνη εστη εν τη ταξει αυτης*
Εis φως βολιδες σου πορευσονται
Εis φεγγος αστραπης οπλων σου.
 12 *Εν απειλη ολγωσεις γην*
Και εν θυμω καταξεις εθνη
 13 *Εξηλθες εις σωτηριαν λαου σου*
Του σωσαι τον χριστον σου.
Βαλεις εις κεφαλας ανομων θανατον·
Εξηγειρας δεσμους εως τραχηλου. Διαψαλμα·
- 10 *ראוך יחילו הרים*
 זרם מים עבר
 נתן תהם קולו
 רום ידיהו נשא
 11 *שמש ירה עמך זבנלה*
 לאור חציך יהלכו
 לנגה ברק הניתך
 12 *בוזעם תצער ארץ*
 באף תדווש גוים
 13 *יצאת לישע עמך*
 לישע את משיחך
 מוהצת ראש [במו]ת רשע
 ערות יסור עד צואר סלה;

10 Viderunt te, et doluerunt montes.

The Mountains saw thee, and were pained; The mountains saw thee, [and] they trembled:

Gurgēs aquarum transit.

The flood of waters passed by.

Dedit abyssus vocem suam,

The Deep uttered his voice;

Altitudo manus suas levavit.

The Height his hands uplifted.

11 Sol[et] Luna steterunt in habitaculo suo.

The sun [and] Moon stood still. The sun [and] moon stood still in their habitation:

In luce sagittarum tuarum ibunt

Instead of light thine arrows fly,

In splendore fulgurantis hastæ tuæ.

For brightness, the lightning of thy spear. [And] at the shining of thy glittering spear.

12 In fremitu conculcabis terram,

In fury thou contemnest the Earth;

In furore obstupefacies gentes.

Thou didst march through the land in indignation,

13 Egressus es in salutem populi tui

In anger thou dost thresh the Nations. Thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

In salutem cum Christo tuo.

For thy People's salvation thou wentest forth, thy people.

Percussisti caput de domo impij;

For the salvation of thine Anointed. [Even] for salvation with thine anointed; Thou hast stricken with death the head Thou woudest the head out of the house of the wicked,

Denudasti fundamentum [ejus] usque ad collum.

That bared the foundation up to the neck; [By] discovering the foundation unto the neck. Selah.

VERSIO LXX. INTERPRETUM.

14 Διεκοφας εν εκστασει κεφαλας

Δυναστων· Σεισθήσονται εν αυτη· Διανοίξουσι

Χαλινους αυτων, ως εσθων

Πτωχος λαθρα.

VERSIO LATINA AD VERBUM.

Perforasti hastis-suis caput,

Duces ejus irruunt ad-me-spargendum.

Exultatio-eorum quasi vorare

Pauperem in-latifibulo.

15 [Και] επιβιβας επι θαλασσαν τους ιππους σου,

Ταρασσοντας *υδατα πολλα*

16 Εφυλαξαμην και επτονηθη η κοιλια μου,

Απο φωνης προσευχης χειλεων μου·

[Και] εισηλθε τρομος εις τα οστα μου·

Και υποκατωθεν μου εταραχθη η εζις μου.

Αναπανοσμαι εν ημερα θλιψεως

Του αναβηναι εις λαον παροικιας μου.

17 Διοτι συκη ου καρποφορησει

Και ουκ εσται γεννηματα εν ταις αμπελοις

TEXTUS HEBRAICUS.

14 נקבת במיזי ראש

פרזיו יסערו להפיציני

עליצתם כמו לאכל

עני במסתר

15 דרכת בים סוסים

המר מים רבים

16 שמעתי ותרנו במני

לקול צללי שפתי

יבוא רקב בעצמי

ותחת ארגז אשר

אנח ליזם צרה

לעלות לעמי גור[ני]

17 כי תאנה לא תפרח

ואין יבול בנפנים

- 14 Maledixisti sceptris ejus, capiti
Bellatorum ejus, venientibus ut turbo
ad dispergendum me.
Exultatio eorum sicut [ejus] qui de-
vorat
Pauperem in abscondito.
- 15 Viam fecisti in mari equis tuis,
[In] luto aquarum multarum.
16 Audiui, et conturbatus est venter
meus;
A voce contremuerunt labia mea.
Ingredietur putredo in ossibus meis,
Et subter me seateat. Ut . . .
requiescam in die tribulationis,
Ut ascendam ad populum accinctum
nostrum.
- 17 Ficus enim non florebit;
Et non erit germen in vineis;
- Thou piercest with his own lance the
head [of him],
Whose commanders rush to scatter me.
Whose delight [is] as it were to devour
The afflicted in [their] lurking place.
Thou didst tread on the sea [with] thine
horses,
[On] the surge of mighty waters.
I heard, and my belly trembled;
At the sound my lips did quiver,
Rottenness enters into my bones,
And beneath me I tremble [in my] gait.
I shall rest at the Day of Trouble,
At the going up of my captive people.
Although the fig-tree do not bud,
And no fruit on the vines,
- Thou didst strike through with his staves 14
the head
Of his villages: they came out as a whirl-
wind to scatter me:
Their rejoicing [was] as to devour
The poor secretly.
Thou didst walk through the sea with 15
thine horses,
[Through] the heap of great waters.
When I heard, my belly trembled; 16
My lips quivered at the voice:
Rottenness entered into my bones,
And I trembled in myself, that . . .
I might rest in the day of trouble;
When he cometh up unto the people, he
will invade them with his troops.
Although the fig tree shall not blossom, 17
Neither [shall] fruit [be] in the vines;

VERSIO LXX. INTERPRETUM.

Ψευσεται εργον ελαιας
 Και τα πεδια ου ποιησει βρωσιν
 Εξελιπεν απο βρωσεως τροβατα
 Και ουκ υπαρχουσι βοες επι φατραις
 18 Εγω δε εν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀγαλλιασσομαι
 Χαρησομαι ἐν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ Σωτηρὶ μου.

19 Κυριος ο Θεος δυναμις μου
 Και ταξει τους ποδας μου εις συντελειαν
 Επι τα υψηλα επιβιβα με

Του νικησαι εν τη ωδι αυτου.

VERSIO LATINA AD VERBUM.

Cecidit factum olivæ,
 Et agri non-faciunt cibum,
 Abscinditur de ovili pecus,
 Et de-est armentum presepibus.
 Ego tamen in JΕΗΟΥΑΗ gaudebo,
 Exultabo in Deo servatori meo.

JΕΗΟΥΑΗ, Dominus meus, robur meum :
 Et ponit pedes meos ut cervarum,
 Et super excelca mea me calcare facit.

TEXTUS HEBRAÏCUS.

כחש מעשה זית
 ושרמות לא עשה אכל
 גזר ממכלה צאן
 18 ואין בקר ברפתים
 ואני ביהוה אעלוה
 אגילה באלי ישעי

יהוה אדני חילי
 וישם הנלי באילות
 ועל במותי ידרכני

למנצח בנגינותי

Mentietur opus olivæ ;

Et arva non afferent cibum ;

Abscindetur de ovili pecus ;

Et non erit armentum in præsepibus :

18 Ego autem in Domino gaudebo :

Et exultabo in Deo Jesu meo.

19 Deus Dominus fortitudo mea ;

Fallen is the produce of the olive,

And the fields produce not food,

Cut off from the fold is the flock,

And no herd in the stalls,

Still I in JEHOVAH will rejoice,

Will joy in the God of my Salvation.

JEHOVAH, my Lord, is my Strength,

The labour of the olive shall fail,

And the fields shall yield no meat ;

The flock shall be cut off from the fold,

And [there shall be] no herd in the stalls :

Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, 18

I will joy in the God of my salvation.

The Lord God [is] my strength,

Et ponet pedes meos quasi cervorum :

Et super excelsa mea deducit me

And he maketh my feet as the hinds',

[feet],

And on my high-places he makes me to tread.
And he will make me to walk upon mine high places.

Victor in psalmis canentem.

To the chief singer on my stringed instruments.

NOTES.

Verse 2.]—In the translation given of this passage in the Authorised English Version, there is scarcely any trace of poetic construction; and to my mind it is almost equally destitute of meaning. Most commentators seem, without expressing it, to be of the opinion which Archbishop Newcome has advanced; namely, that the present chapter is a prayer prompted by reflections on the prophecy contained in the two which precede it. For this reason he rashly proposes to cancel the title as “a Jewish annotation of a later age,” and because “the insertion of it interrupts the connection.” The title, however, is older than the LXX.; and it would have been better to have proved than assumed the connection. The received notion is that the “speech” and the “work” referred to are the judgments, and the denunciation of the judgments, against the Jews and Jerusalem, as well as the Chaldæans. But those who thus interpret can hardly escape the conclusion that in the words which follow, the prophet would thus be imprecating evil upon his own people. It is true Newcome gets over this by translating with the LXX., “as the years approach thou makest [it] known:” but this seems tame, and the main difficulty still remains,—namely, to trace any connection between this verse and that which follows. Lowth has attempted this, but I cannot think with any great success; and in spite of his eloquent language, it still seems to me that the view taken of the passage is radically wrong.

It must be granted that the passage as it stands in our present Masoretic text is very fairly represented by the E.V. Nothing therefore can be done with it, so long as we confine ourselves to that text; and our only hope lies in obtaining a better by the help of MSS. and ancient versions. Nor shall we have far to search; the LXX. supply most valuable information as to the state of the text in their time: we find in our present copies,

*Κυριε εισακηκοα την ακοην σου [και] εφοβηθην
[Κατενοησα] τα εργα σου. [και εξεστην]*

Εν μεσφ δυο [ζων] γνωσθηση
Εν τφ εγγιζειν τα ετη επιγνωσθηση
Εν τφ παρειναι τον καιρον αναδειχθηση
[Εν τφ παραχθηναι την ψυχην μου]
Εν οργη ελεους μνησθηση

Of the words in brackets there is now no trace in the Hebrew ; which, on the other hand, has יהוה in the second line without any corresponding *Kyrie* in the Greek. The sixth line I consider as really representing a line lost in the Hebrew ; but the third is obviously only a marginal rendering of either the fourth or fifth. Supposing the LXX. version of the then text correct, the word יראתי, *εφοβηθην*, was followed by ראיתי, *κατενοησα*, "I saw;" and no one familiar with the errors of MSS. will be at a loss to account for the disappearance of one of these all but identical words. For the *και εξεστην* there is no accounting; but, if we admit the former correction, some such word will be necessary to complete the parallelism, and make the lines of equal length. The couplet would then stand thus

יהוה שמעתי שמעך [י] יראתי
 ראיתי יהוה פעלך [וחתותי]

However, as the lines by this means become much longer than any besides in the whole ode; and as we can hardly venture to supply the *και εξεστην* on conjecture, it will perhaps be safest to consider יראתי as an error for וראיתי: we shall obtain a parallelism, and a sense agreeing on the whole with the LXX., though less full. The third line seems to point to a reading הו בקרב שני חיים "in the midst of the two living creatures [is] He:" which would require the transposition of one letter in the present text,—a less variation than Grotius and others suppose, in making the LXX. read חיים for שנים. But believing that ζων is nothing but an addition of the translator to explain that by *εν μεσφ δυοις* he meant "between the cherubim," I judge that no alteration is necessary in the present reading, except the trifling one of הוהו for חייהו, or rather for היהו, which latter is the reading of 19 MSS., 2 of them ancient. This emendation is required by the parallelism and by the Greek, whether *γνωσθηση*, *επιγνωσθηση*, or *αναδειχθηση* represent it. With the exception then of the missing line, we obtain an essential correspondence with the Greek first, or marginal version (which I prefer to the second and usually adopted one) without other change than that of ו for י in two places.

I had almost forgotten to add that for שָׁנִים (*shānim*, “years”) I point שְׁנַיִם (*shna'im*, “twain”) with the LXX. first version. The meaning attached to the common rendering has been “within the appointed time, as the years approach,” or the like. Others explain it “in the midst of the” seventy “years” of the captivity: and there are other still more fanciful interpretations. With the Greek translator I take the “Twain” to be “the two living creatures,—the Cherubim.” The passage should be compared with Psalm lxxx. 1:

Shepherd of Israël! give ear:
Leader of Joseph as a flock!
Sitter on Cherubim! shine forth.

and with Psalm xc. 16 (which, with the following verse, was evidently an addition made to the Hymn of Moses during the rebuilding of the temple after the captivity, like Psalm li. 18, 19):

Let thy WORK appear to thy servants:
And thy GLORY to their children:

And the BEAUTY of the Lord our God be on us.

This last is a prayer for the restoration of the Shechinah—called as in our text the WORK of God.

Ver. 3. *From Teman.*]—It may be doubted whether by “Teman” is intended the Edomite province properly so called; or whether nothing more is meant than the southern or Sinaitic district in general. The “Har-Paran” is doubtless not any particular mount, but the mountain district (το ὄρος) on the W. side of the 'Arabah.

After εἰς ὄρους Φαράν the LXX. have κατασκίου δασεος. I presume this is nothing more than a marginal reading adopted from some MS., where in the place of פֶּרֶן סֶלָה there was, or seemed to be מִאֲפֶלֶה or הָעֶרְפֶּל; *i.e.* instead of “Mount Paran. Selah,” the reading seems to be “the mountain of thick darkness.”

Ver. 4. *Rays from both sides.*]—Literally “horns (dual number) in (or, at) his hand to him.” This our translators have followed too literally, forgetful as it would seem of the appearance of Moses described by a similar term in Ex. xxxiv. 29, etc.; where Aquila and the Vulgate make a like mistake; and the painters, following the latter, commit the folly of representing Moses with horns! I presume that there is here an hypallage, “two rays at his hand,” for “rays at his two hands.”

And there was the hiding.]—The ἀγαπησιν κραταίαν of the LXX. originates in their referring הִבִּיחַ to the root חָבַב (*khabab*, “dilexit”),

instead of חבה (*khābah*, "occultavit"). In either case the word has an intensive force, "strong love," "total hiding." The word does not occur elsewhere.

Ver. 5. *Pestilence.*—The supporters of the old interpretation consider this is as a reference either to the destruction of the first-born, or to the plagues inflicted at various times on the Israelites in the desert. The latter view is entirely out of the question, since it is against the (עֲשׂוֹת גוֹיִם) "heathen" that Jehovah's wrath is directed (line 17). How apposite the imagery is to the Assyrian catastrophe has been shown in the introduction.

For רשפלרגליו the LXX. appear to have read בִּשְׁפִלְרִגְלָיו of which the εὐ πείδους οἱ ποδες αὐτοῦ of the Alexandrian MS. is a far better translation than that of the Vatican. The word רשף occurs six times in the Old Testament (Deut. xxxiii. 24; Job v. 7; Psalm lxxvi. 4; lxxviii. 48; Cant. viii. 6; besides Hab. iii. 5), but in every one of these it is differently translated. The parallelism requires, and Deut. xxxii. 24 confirms, the meaning I have adopted from Gesenius.

Ver. 6. *Moves.*—So in effect the LXX., deriving the word from מור (*mūd*, "movit") instead of מדר or מרה *māḏaḏ* or *māḏah*, "mensus est"). If the view of the Vulgate and E.V. be preferred, it will be necessary to refer יתר in the following line to תור *thūr*, "circuivit explorandi causa" instead of נתר (*nāthar*, "tremuit"): otherwise, the parallelism will be imperfect.

Ver. 7.]—I have here found it necessary to make a thorough reform in the punctuation, inasmuch as all trace of parallelism is lost under the common system. By removing the three words תחת און ראיתי, the remaining words form two perfectly parallel lines. It remains to give an intelligible rendering of these three words by themselves. The version of them by the LXX. shows that the passage has suffered no material corruption; we may, therefore, reject without scruple the conjectural emendation of Houbigant and Green. It has seemed to me that nothing more is needed than to suppose an ellipsis of "him" after "beneath;" and to restore to און its ordinary signification of "vanity," here needlessly departed from. By "vanity" I understand the "idols" or "idolatry," as 1 Sam xv. 23; Isaiah lxvi. 3. The line thus interpreted becomes antithetically parallel to the preceding. A question may arise whether we ought not to point און instead of אֵן (*ōn* instead of *āven*) in which case the line would read, "I beheld might (*i.e.* the

mighty) under [him]." The expression in Job xli. 30, "Sharp pot-sheerds [are] under him," seems to illustrate the present passage.

The tents of Cushan.—Unable to make anything satisfactory out of this in reference to the exodus, Newcome rashly conjectures *חתת עוג* for *חתת אוג*, and *בוישן* for *בשן*, and translates, "Thou sawest the terror of 'Og: The tents of Bashan trembled: The curtains of the land of Midian." This is criticism with a vengeance!

I take this passage to be a description of the terror which the violence of the miraculous simoom inspired into the native inhabitants of the desert. "Cûshaân" is probably a poetic form of "Cûsh." The wife of Moses is called a "Cushite" in Num. xii. 1; whence it follows that the "Midian" of Jethro was a Cushite tribe, probably quite distinct from the Midianites generally so called, who were Ishmaelites. It is the former people (of whom the Kenites were a branch settled on the southern border of Judah) that is here intended.

Ver. 8. *Rivers.*—Those who agree with me in referring this word to the great Mesopotamian powers, will probably allow me to point *נַהַרַיִם Naharaim*, "the two rivers." Reasons for this reference have been given in the introduction; but a question may still remain as to whether some other event in Assyrian or Chaldean history may not be here alluded to, and not that which I have supposed. Into this it will be necessary to enter. It will, perhaps, be enquired why the destruction of Nineveh should not be here described or foretold; or even why the taking of Babylon should not be intended. Assuredly, if the ode do not relate to the destruction of Sennacherib's host, it must have reference to some great calamity befalling the Euphratean powers, and to none more probably than those mentioned. But I do not here find any of those minute circumstances which we find constantly making their appearance in prophecies concerning the sieges of Nineveh and Babylon: there is no drying up of the rivers; no allusion to the destroying fires; no mention of the desolation of the cities; nor of the deliverance of the Jews: nothing, in short, to connect the ode with either of these events. While, on the contrary, if I am right in the interpretation of ver. 16, the event described (whatever it may have been) was anterior to the Babylonish captivity; so that the destruction of Babel is excluded. And then, of the remaining events, the overthrow of Sennacherib was so much more important to the Jews, and so much more in accordance with the language and allusions of the poet, that I can have no hesitation in choosing between them.

Against the sea.]—The following passages may be cited as parallel to the present in the use of “sea” as a variant for “river”: Psalm xciii. 3, 4; and Isaiah xxvii. 1. In the last “sea” stands for “the Nile,” as it may possibly also in Isaiah xi. 15. And on the other hand “rivers” in Jonah ii. 3 is employed as a variant for “sea.”

Ver. 9. *Stripped naked.*]—I should have preferred the version of the LXX. and Vulgate, if it had been possible to refer עריה to the root עור. We should then have had “lifted,—uplifted is thy bow.” עור is not found elsewhere in the sense of “stripping.”

The second line of this verse presents great difficulties: as it stands in E.V. it is quite unintelligible, and in no way parallel to either the preceding or following line. The various readings of MSS. are numerous, but not important. For the שבעות of the received text, 51 MSS. (6 ancient) read שבועות; 17 (3 anc.) שבועת; 7, שבעת; and 1, שביעת. For אמר 13 MSS. (1 anc.) read אומר. The επι σκηπτρα λεγει Κυριος of the LXX. seems at first to point to very different readings. But when it is considered that Κυριος is probably only a supplement of the translator; and that the Alexandrian MS. has επιτασκηπτρα which is probably nothing more than a mistake for επτασκηπτρα; we may be pretty sure the Hebrew has suffered no great corruption. The LXX. version amounts to “Seven sceptres, saith [Jehovah],” which is no more intelligible than the “Oaths [which thou] spake[st to] the tribes” of the Vulgate; or the rendering put forth in E.V. All points being dropped, the various readings furnish us with the following interpretation of the three words of the line:—I. 1. oaths or curses; 2. weeks, or other septenary periods; 3. seven; 4. satieties. II. 1. rod, sceptre, or lance; tribe, prince, or power; 2. couch; 3. act of leaning; 4. caused to lean, or bow. III. 1. he spoke; 2. speaking; 3. a speech, word, promise or command. But no combination of these various meanings will give a clear sense to the passage: the most simple seems to me to be what I have given in the text. Another possible interpretation is “[His] rods (or, lances) pronounced curses:” but this supposes an enallage of number, which though sufficiently common, I would rather avoid.

With rivers.]—I presume that here is an ellipsis of נ in the Hebrew; a construction imitated by the corresponding one of σπο in the Greek. Otherwise we must read, “Thou cleavest the land of the rivers,” which requires a harshness in the arrangement. I take נרין to

be the "land" (of Judah), not the "earth:" 3 MSS. (1 anc.) read הארץ "the land."

Ver. 10.]—The LXX. seem to have read גוים λαοι for הרים "mountains," in the first line of this verse; and to have had ר for יד in ידיהו: where 17 MSS. (1 anc.) have ידהו "his hand." It is surely better, with the LXX. and Vulg., to take רים in its ordinary signification, than to make an adverb of it for the occasion. It is not pretended to be found elsewhere.

Ver 11.]—Fifteen MSS. (3 anc.) and several versions supply a conjunction between "sun" and "moon;" but this is probably no more than an interpolation by transcribers, to whom the abruptness of the poet's language seemed too great. Of a similar class is Newcome's proposed alteration of זבלם "their habitation;" which is entirely needless, the true construction consisting in an epanorthosis: "the moon stood still [I mean] her habitation." Buxtorf considers זבלה to be a feminine form of זבל; but quotes Rabbi Solomon's opinion that the final ה is the particle denoting direction—*cælum versus*; but there is here no motion to require it. I consider it the rarer form ה of the masculine affixed pronoun. Their "habitation" probably means "the heaven," the revolving sphere to which the ancient astronomy supposed the heavenly bodies to be attached.

Instead of light.]—This is no unusual signification of the prep. ל, as may be seen by reference to Gen. xi. 3; Ex. ii. 10; 1 Sam. xiii. 21; Ezek. iv. 6; etc. (See Noldius). "At" would rather require ב.

Ver. 13. *Thine anointed one.*]—By this I understand King Hezekiah. Three or four Hebrew MSS. (none ancient) read משיחיה in the plural number: so also the Alexandrian, and two or three other MSS. of the LXX. and its Coptic translation. But it is probably only a conjectural emendation of critics who misunderstood the subject of the ode.

With death.]—For מבית I read with the LXX. במות. Perhaps the more correct version would be "Thou smotest the head with the death of the wicked."

The latter couplet of v. 13, and the first of v. 14, seem to form a quatrain of alternating parallels. The "head" is probably Sennacherib himself, smitten by "Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons;" who (if we take the ב "with" causatively) may be described in the third line as his own "sceptres" or "lances." For an explanation of "baring the foundation up to the neck," see introduction. For יסור the LXX. read יסור.

Ver. 14. *Commanders.*]—The LXX. both here and in Judges v. 7, thus render instead of “villages” as in E.V.; and Gesenius is of the same opinion. For פָּרוֹן which may be singular, the Keri and 57 MSS. read פָּרוֹי, which must be plural. For the χαλινοὺς of the LXX., I cannot account.

* * * * *

PSALM XXXI. 3.

 ולמען שמך תנחני ותנהרני

 FOR THY NAME'S SAKE LEAD ME AND GUIDE ME.

THE first glance which we take of this passage, suggests at once that it contains an allusion to pastoral matters; and there are probably few commentators of any sagacity who have not observed this. But this very circumstance ought to have rendered them more careful, than most of them have been, in their translation of the terms which it contains. The Arabic lexicons are filled with pastoral, and, if one may so call them, stabular words, referring literally to the parts, nature, and habits of animals; especially to the chief domestic ones of the country, sheep, horses, and camels. And when these come to be used figuratively to describe the ways and habits of men, it is absolutely necessary to a right understanding of such phrases that we ascertain the primitive use of the terms. To a less extent this is true of the Hebrew language also; and, indeed, of all languages: though, in some, figurative words and phrases of this nature are borrowed rather from agriculture, war, or navigation, than from pastoral life.

Since then it is probable that we have here a pastoral metaphor, we may expect that the terms of it are technical, possessing a definite meaning in the mouths of the shepherds who first used them; and retaining some traces of their origin, when applied in figure to the affairs of men. Let us endeavour to discover what those original and definite senses are; for thus, and thus only shall we have a secure foundation to rest upon in searching for the primitive sense,—still more when we attempt to apply the passage in a typical or spiritual manner.

That the language is figurative, no translator or commentator can have doubted. But when we come to examine their versions, we find very few of them in which any attempt is made to define accurately the meaning of the terms employed. When any variety is attempted, it seems too often to be done at hap-hazard. The following specimens of translation will, we think, fully bear out our assertion :—

‘Οδηγησεις με, και διαθρεψεις με. *LXX.*

———— —, και τημελησεις με. *Sym.*

———— —, και διαβασταξεις με. *Aquila.*

Deduces me, et enutries me. *Itala and Hieron.*

Ducas atque perducas. *Castalio.*

Duces et deduces me. *Munster.*

Agito me, et deducito me. *Jun. and Trem.*

Diriges me, et deduces me. *Calvin.*

Duc et deducito me. *Foord.*

Ages me, et deduces me. *Burkius.*

Duces me, meique curam geres. *Dathe.*

Duces me, ac aquatum duces me. *Venema.*

Duc me, et deduc me. *Hare.*

Deduc, et moderare me. *Rosenmüller.*

Lead me, and guide me. *Anglica. Horsley. Jebb.*

Be thou also my guide, and lead me. *Cranmer.*

Direct me, and guide me. *Geneva.*

Lead me, and conduct me. *Green.*

Mene-moi, et conduis-moi. *Gallica.*

Guidami, e conducimi. *Italica.*

Me guiaras, y me sustentaras. *Hispanica.*

Wollest du mich leiten, und führen. *Germanica.*

Leit my dan, ende voert my. *Belgica.*

It will be seen that while all the above agree in translating the first word by something equivalent to “lead,” they differ considerably in the sense which they attach to the other. We must therefore enquire, first, whether they are right in their interpretation of the first term; and secondly, which of the significations assigned to the second has most probability.

To the first verb נָחָה *nákháh*, the translators unanimously

assign the sense of “leading.” In this they are supported by the Lexicons; of which some (Gesenius, Parkhurst, Michaelis Supp. ad Lex. Heb. 1563, etc.) give the meaning “lead” absolutely; others, especially the older ones (Santes Pagninus, Castell, etc.) with the qualification “gently,” “softly.” Of the commentators, few assign any special meaning. Venema, ii. 310 (who sees that both terms are “*verba pastoritia*”) affirms that the meaning of this is that of leading sheep right ahead for a considerable distance,—*longo et recto tractu egit pecus*: but of this he adduces no proof whatever.

Since, then, the lexicographers and commentators do not succeed in attaching any definite meaning to the word נָהָה *nākhâh*, we must either acquiesce in their generalities, or investigate for ourselves. We will adopt the latter alternative.

It is a generally admitted principle of the Shemitic languages that verbs, of which one of the letters נ, ה, ו, or י (comprised in the *memoria technica* word אֶחָוִי *eheri* or *AHWI*) is a radical, are often mutually connected in signification. Thus our word נָהָה *nākhâh* is probably allied to נוּחַ *nuakh* or *nâwakh*, and also to יָנַח *yânakh*. And, indeed, the tenses of such verbs are not always distinguishable from each other; and translators, lexicographers, and concordance writers are often at variance about them. Thus, in Isaiah lxiii. 14, “the Spirit of Jehovah caused him to rest,” our translators and the “Englishman’s Hebrew Concordance” refer to נוּחַ *nuakh*, what the LXX. and Kircher refer to נָהָה *nākhâh*. And Michaelis (Supp. ad Lex. Heb. 1563) endeavours to show that in Isaiah vii. 2, “Syria resteth on Ephraim,” the reference should be to נָהָה *nākhâh* instead of נוּחַ *nuakh*; and the meaning is “Syria goes to Ephraim,” *i.e.* unites forces with him; but this is at best doubtful.

And, again, the difficulty of distinguishing between נָהָה *nākhâh* and יָנַח *yânakh* in some of their tenses, is shown by the concordances referring the words translated “put” and “bestowed” to the former, while the meaning evidently requires the latter. This is the case in 2 Chron. i. 14; 1 Kings x. 26;

and 2 Kings xviii. 11; where our translators with the LXX. have preferred common sense to grammatical technicalities. In Psalm xviii. 34, our translators have even referred to הנת *khánath*, a word which the LXX. derive from ינה: besides that in translating it by "break" they have invented a new sense for the word.

Now the verb נוה *nuakh* indubitably means "to rest;"¹ and its Hiphil or causative voice, "to make to rest." And this causative sense belongs also to the allied verb ינה *yánakh*, at least in Hiphil, in which voice only it is found; and accordingly it is translated by "put," "place," "lay," "leave," etc. all included in the idea of "causing to rest." We conclude therefore that this is also the real and primitive sense of the word under discussion. Now if this be granted, it is easy to see that, as a pastoral term, it might acquire the *significatio prægnans* of "leading to rest," and hence become the technical term for leading the sheep home to the fold. This is no more than may happen to a similar word in any language: "he rested his sheep at Ashby," or "he halted his army there," would of necessity imply a previous driving or marching to the spot.

Let us proceed to examine the passages in which the word נהה *nákhâh* occurs. If in them it will admit, without straining, of the sense which we have attributed to it, *i.e.*, of leading to rest, like sheep to the fold, we shall have a more definite, as well as more solidly grounded sense for it, than any which has hitherto been assigned.

Gen. 24, 27 ^{a2} Jehovah *led* me to the house.

48 ^a Which *had led* me in the right way.

Ex. 13, 17 ^β God *led* them not the way of the land of the Philistines.

21 ^γ In a pillar of cloud *to lead* them the way.

15, 13 ^β Thou in thy mercy *hast led* forth the people.

32, 34 ^β Therefore now go *lead* the people.

Num. 23, 7 ^η Out of Aram *hath* Balak *brought* me.

Deut. 32, 12 ^ε So Jehovah alone *did lead* him.

¹ See Notes A and B.

² See Note C.

- 1 Sam. 22, 4 θ He *brought* them before the king of Moab.
 1 Kin. 10, 26 α Whom he *bestowed* in the cities for chariots. 2 Ch. 1, 14.
 2 Kin. 18, 11 α And *put* them in Halah and in Habor.
 Neh. 9, 12 β Thou *leddest* them in the day.
 19 β *To lead* them in the way.
 Job 12, 23 δ He enlargeth the nations and *straiteneth* them.
 31, 18 β I *have guided* her from my mother's womb.
 38, 32 ϵ Canst thou *guide* Arcturus with his sons.
 Psalm 5, 8 β *Lead* me, O Jehovah, in thy righteousness.
 23, 3 β He *leadeth* me in the paths of righteousness.
 27, 11 β And *lead* me in a plain path.
 31, 3 β For thy Name's sake *lead* me and guide me.
 43, 3 β Thy light and truth: let them *lead* me.
 60, 9 β Who *will lead* me into Edom? 108, 10 β .
 61, 2 β *Lead* me to the rock that is higher than I.
 67, 4 β And *govern* the nations upon earth.
 73, 24 β Thou *shalt guide* me with thy counsel.
 77, 20 β Thou *leddest* thy people like a flock.
 78, 14 β In the day time he *led* them with a cloud.
 53 β And he *led* them on safely.
 72 β And *guided* them by the skilfulness of his hands.
 107, 30 β So he *bringeth* them to their desired haven.
 139, 10 β Even there *shall* thy hand *lead* me.
 24 β And *lead* me in the way everlasting.
 143. 10 β *Lead* me into the land of uprightness.
 Prov. 6, 22 ζ When thou goest it shall *lead* thee.
 11, 3 β The integrity of the upright *shall guide* thee.
 18, 16 κ And *bringeth* him before great men.
 Isai. 57, 18 θ I *will lead* him also and restore comforts.
 58, 11 λ And Jehovah *shall guide* thee continually.

Now it seems to us that in some of these passages the idea of leading to rest,—home, or one's destination, is manifest; and that in most of them this meaning is not only apposite but an improvement to the sense. Take, for example, Ex. xiii. 17, "God *led them not* [*home to their destination*] the way of the land of the Philistines . . . but led the people round the way of the wilderness." Or, Psalm xxiii. 2, 3, where the language is wholly pastoral:

In green pastures he makes me to lie :
 At waters of comfort he leads me to drink :
 My soul he heads,—he *leads me to rest*,
 In paths of righteousness, for his Name's sake.

Here all is consistent with our notion of the special meaning of נָחָה *nákháh*. The shepherd first feeds, then waters his sheep ; later in the day he heads or turns them about (*convertit*, he converts them, in its literal sense) ; and lastly, takes them home to the fold. In Job xxxviii. 32, Schultens has pointed out that there is a pastoral metaphor ; but the beauty comes out all the brighter if we paraphrase the passage thus : Canst thou *like a shepherd lead* Arcturus and his lambs *home to their fold* ? Thus taken it may remind us of Ovid's happy military metaphor

quarum agmina cogit

Lucifer, et cœli statione novissimus exit :

where Lucifer is the officer, who at dawn of day leads to the camp the outpost, which has been on duty during the night.

Some, indeed, of the above cited occurrences of נָחָה *nákháh* present a little difficulty. But this is chiefly owing to bad translation, or reference to the wrong root. Thus Job xii. 23 ought, perhaps, to be translated, "He disperseth nations, and *bringeth* them *home again*." And in 1 Kings x. 26 ; 2 Kings xviii. 11 ; and 2 Chron. i. 14 should be referred to יָנַח *yánakh*, as is done by the Septuagint translators.

The most difficult passage to explain on this view of the meaning of נָחָה *nákháh*, is Num. xxiii. 7. It is not obvious that Balaam's being brought from Mesopotamia to Moab could be compared to a leading of sheep to fold. But when we remember that the kings of Moab were "sheep-masters" (2 Kings iii. 4) and that Balaam was invited to take up his residence in Moab (Num. xxii. 17), and appears not to have returned to his own country, notwithstanding what is said in xxiv. 25,—not only will the difficulty vanish, but the term will be seen to be highly apposite :

Out of Aram hath Balak *brought me to his fold*,
 The King of Moab, from the mountains of the East.

With respect to the other word נָהַל, though there is more variety in the translations, there is in reality less difficulty. Schultens has shown that its proper signification is "to water cattle;" but that it came to be used in the sense of "leading either to food or water;" and finally in that of "leading short distances," in which it differs from נָהַג *náhag* used of leading them long and fatiguing journeys; which latter word is the one employed in Psalm lxxx. 1:

Shepherd of Israel, give ear!

Leader of Joseph as a flock,

(Sitter on Cherubim! shine forth!)

Before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh:

(Stir up thy strength, and come and save us!)

Turn us again, O God!

where if the lines in parenthesis, which seem to be a sort of burden or chorus, be omitted, the image is wholly pastoral, and the allusion to the order of march in the desert (Ex. ii. 17-24) is manifest; the parenthetical lines referring to the Shechinah, present as the Cloudy Pillar.

The signification of "drinking" is retained by the Arabic نَهَلَ *nahala*; and the secondary sense of "leading to food and water" seems to have been had in view by the LXX. in their διαθρεψεις, and by Jerome, in his *enutries*. The τημελησεις of Symmachus is explained by an old Scholiast τουτεστι παντοδαπης με προνοιας αξιωσεις, *i.e.*, "shalt judge me worthy of all providential care." It is apparently, though adopted with praise by Dathe, a mere random translation; as is also the διαβασταξεις, "thou shalt bear me about" of Aquila.

The following are the occurrences of נָהַל *náhal*:

Gen. 33, 14 β¹ And I *will lead* on softly.

47, 17 δ And he *fed* them with bread.

Ex. 15, 13 ε Thou *hast guided* them in thy strength.

2 Chr. 28, 15 ζ And *carried* all the feeble of them.

32, 22 η And *guided* them on every side.

Psal. 23, 2 δ He *leadeth* me beside the still waters.

¹ See Note D.

Psal. 31, 3 γ For thy Name's sake lead me and *guide*.

Isai. 40, 11 ϵ *Shall gently lead* those that are with young.

49, 10 α By the springs of water shall he *guide* them.

51, 18 ϵ None to *guide* her among all the sons.

In these passages the word is as often used in its primitive, as in any secondary sense.

It appears then on the whole that the most probable interpretation of our text is this: "And for thy Name's sake thou leadest me as thy sheep to the fold; and guidest me as thy sheep to food and water."

The figurative applications of this kind of language will naturally suggest themselves to the reader. If taken of God's providential care in temporal matters, "leading to the fold" will imply placing or preserving in safety; and "guiding to food and water" will denote supplying all wants. And the transition will be easy to a spiritual application;—"the fold" being understood either of the Church of Christ, or of Eternal Salvation; and the "food and water" denoting either the blessings which Christ has purchased and the Spirit communicates to true believers in this present world; or the blessings reserved for them in that which is to come.

NOTES.

A.—According to Schultens and others, the primary sense of נָחָה is that of kneeling down like a camel to rest; hence both in Arabic and Hebrew مَنَاخ مَنَاة *mandkh* or *manwakh*, “the place where it is knelt,” “the halting place of the camels.”

B.—The inquiry into the meaning of the preceding word brought to light a confirmation of our view of the original meaning of נָחָה *nákháh*; which, occurring as it did after we had fully satisfied ourselves on the subject, gave us much gratification. We subjoin a translation of the whole passage from a paper entitled “Observationes Philologico-criticæ in Deborah et Moses Cantica,” by G. J. Lebte, contained in the second volume of the “Sylloge Dissertationum” of Schultens and Schröder. Leyden, 1772. He thus paraphrases Ex. xv. 13:

“‘Thou hast led in thine abundant bounty thy people, which thou hast redeemed: as a shepherd thou hast led them, copiously watered with thy power to the abode (halting place) of thy holiness.’

“Two pastoral words are brought together in this verse, נָחָה *nákháh* and נָחַל *ndhal*. They occur also in Psalm xxiii. 2, 3: ‘In grassy enclosures he makes me to lie down: at waters of reclining he leads me to drink: he revives my soul, he leads me in straight and even paths.’ All the figures are pastoral: for רָבִיץ *rábatz* is the Arabic رَضَ ‘to lie down’ (used of a sheep, dog, lion or other beast): מְנוּחָה *menúkhoh* is the Arabic مَنَاخ ‘the place where the camels lie down;’ as in the following passage from Hariri:

“For the traveller, when he comes, we have nought to spare,

“But gossip and a lodging in the camels’ lair.

“The same meaning is found in the allied word נָחָה which is used among the Arabs (in the form نَحَا and نَحَت) of camels kneeling down to rest: hence it began to be used of leading to a quiet place; as is usual with shepherds when the flocks are tired out.” p. 689.

With the above cited observations it will be seen that our own sufficiently agree. We have, however, an objection to make to his translation of Psalm xxiii. 3. Since he allows that “all the figures

are pastoral," we cannot but think that he has missed the mark in his "he revives my soul:" and we much prefer what we have ourselves given above. Nor do we quite approve of his paraphrase of Ex. xv. 13; we should translate it thus:

Thou hast led to fold by thy Mercy this people which thou hast redeemed:

Thou hast led them to water by thy Strength at the abode of thy holiness—

where mercy and strength are probably names for the Shechinah.

C.—In the occurrences of $\eta\eta\eta$, the LXX. translate by the following words, according to the affixed references:—(a) *Ευοδοω*. (β) *Ὁδηγεω*. (γ) *Ἡγεομαι*. (δ) *Καθοδηγεω*. (ε) *Αγω*. (ζ) *Επαγω*. (η) *Μεταπεμπω*. (θ) *Παρακαλεω*. (ι) *Τιθημι*. (κ) *Καθιζανω*. (λ) *Εσται μετα σου*.

D.—And in those of $\lambda\eta\eta$: (a) *Αγω*. (β) *Ενισχυω*. (γ) *Διατρεφω*. (δ) *Εκτρεφω*. (ε) *Παρακαλεω*. (ζ) *Αντιλαμβανω*. (η) *Καταπανω*.

ON THE

RIVER TERMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IN Horne's "Introduction to the Scriptures," vol. iii. p. 35, ed. 8, I find the following observation: "The only river in the Holy Land is the Jordan, which is sometimes designated in Scripture as 'the river' without any addition; as also is the Nile (Gen. xli. 1; Ex. i. 22, etc.), and occasionally the Euphrates (as in Jer. xi. 18): in these cases the tenor of the discourse must determine which is the river actually intended by the sacred writers."

Now on this passage I have to make a few remarks. In the first place I believe, and shall endeavour to show, that in many cases the word used to denote "river" in the original language will determine what river is intended, even when the context leaves it doubtful: so that the proper method of investigation will be the opposite to that recommended by Horne. In the second place I shall show that a careful observation of the word used will throw light upon several obscure passages of the Old Testament. And thirdly, I think it will appear from the examination of the passages in which the "river" is mentioned, that there is much reason to doubt whether the Jordan is ever thereby intended.

There are three principal words used to signify "river" in the Old Testament, and generally so translated in the English version; though "flood" and "stream" are occasionally substituted, not always to the illustration of the passage. These three words are, I. אֵרֶץ or אֶרֶץ *yeör*; II. נָהָר *náhar*; III. נָחַל

nakhal. I shall endeavour to show that the first is never, except perhaps in one passage, used for any other river than the Nile; though it is used in the plural number for the derived canals and branches of that river. The second will be found in the great majority of the places in which it occurs to have reference to the Euphrates and its tributaries. The third is the general word in use for the streams, or rather torrents, of the Holy Land. But, which is very remarkable, there is not one clear instance in the whole of the Old Testament of the application of any of these three words to the Jordan. Both *nakhal* and *nâhâr* are used occasionally in a metaphorical sense; but in such cases *nâhâr* generally represents "constancy" and "abundance;" while *nakhal* is used as an emblem of "violence" and "rapidity." But *yeor* is used only in a geographical sense, as the proper name of the Nile.

Besides these three principal words, there are three or four others translated by "river," "brook," or "stream" in the E.V.; but, as none of these signify a "river" properly so called, we will leave all notice of them for the present, and proceed to consider the passages in which *yeor* and *nâhâr* occur.

I. יַעֲרֹן *YEOR*, THE NILE.

Some of the old lexicographers look upon this word as primarily denoting "a river": thus Buxtorf, who adds from Rabbi Solomon, that "the *yeorim* mentioned in Ex. vii. 19, are artificial canals, led from the bank of a larger river to irrigate the lands." And that "the Nile is called *yeor*, because it spreads itself by innumerable canals through the whole of Egypt." Others, as Simonis and Michaelis, allow that the word originally denoted the Nile, but hold that it is hence extended to signify a "river in general." They derive the word from the Arabic وَاَرٍ *wâ'ir*, which, however, does not signify *æstuaræ* (as Robertson, *Clavis Pentateuchi*, ed. 2, p. 385, represents), but "to alarm," or "to endanger." Parkhurst refers it to יָאָר *ôr*, *lucere*, "to shine." But these derivations

are unsatisfactory; and I had therefore long suspected it to be an Egyptian word, a proper name of the Nile; and had committed most of the present remarks to writing ere I had the pleasure of finding my conjectures confirmed by Gesenius. He says, "it is an Egyptian word, written in the Memphitic dialect **ⲓⲁⲣⲟ** *Yaro*, in the Sahidic **ⲓⲉⲣⲟ** *Yero*, in the Rosetta inscription, *Yor*; and accordingly it is used almost exclusively of the 'Nile;' in fact, but once of any other river: in the plural specially of the branches and canals of the Nile."

An examination of the following passages, the whole of those in which the word *yeor* occurs, will establish the fact that this word never signifies any river but the Nile, except perhaps in Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7; and that even when used in a figurative manner the allusion to the geographical Nile is always sufficiently evident.

Gen.	41,	1.	Behold, he stood by <i>the river</i>	.	.	.	.	1
		2, 3	<i>bis</i> , 17, 18, <i>the river</i>	.	.	.	.	6
Exod.	1,	22.	Born, ye shall cast into <i>the river</i>	.	.	.	.	7
		2,	3.	In the flags by the <i>river's</i> brink; 5	<i>bis</i>	.	.	10
		4,	9.	Take of the water of <i>the river</i> ; 6	<i>bis</i>	.	.	12
		7,	15.	Thou shalt stand by <i>the river's</i> brink	.	.	.	13
			17, 18	<i>ter</i> , 19, 20	<i>bis</i> , 21	<i>ter</i> , 24	<i>bis</i> , 25	26
		8,	3.	<i>The river</i> shall bring forth frogs	.	.	.	27
			5, 9, 11.	<i>The river</i>	.	.	.	30
		17,	5.	Wherewith thou smotest <i>the river</i>	.	.	.	31
2 Kin	19,	24.	Dried up all <i>the rivers</i> of besieged places	.	.	.	.	32
Job	28,	10.	He cutteth out <i>rivers</i> among the rocks.	.	.	.	.	33
Psal.	78,	44.	Turned their <i>rivers</i> into blood	.	.	.	.	34
Isai.	7,	18.	Uttermost part of <i>the rivers</i> of Egypt	.	.	.	.	35
		19,	6.	<i>The brooks</i> of defence shall be emptied.	.	.	.	36
			7, <i>ter</i> , 8	<i>The brooks</i>	.	.	.	40
		23,	3.	Sihor, the harvest of <i>the river</i>	.	.	.	41
		23,	10.	Pass through thy land as a <i>river</i>	.	.	.	42
		33,	21.	A place of broad rivers and <i>streams</i>	.	.	.	43
		37,	25.	All <i>the rivers</i> of besieged places	.	.	.	44
Jer.	46,	7.	Who is this that cometh up as a <i>flood</i> ?	.	.	.	.	45
		8.	Egypt riseth up as a <i>flood</i>	.	.	.	.	46

Ezek.	29,	3.	Lieth in the midst of his <i>rivers</i>	.	.	.	47
		3.	My <i>river</i> is mine own	.	.	.	48
		4	<i>bis</i> , 5, 9, 10 <i>Rivers</i>	.	.	.	53
	30,	12.	I will make <i>the rivers</i> dry	.	.	.	54
Dan.	12,	5	<i>bis</i> Side of the bank of <i>the river</i> ; 6, 7	.	.	.	58
Amos	8,	8.	As by <i>the flood</i> of Egypt	.	.	.	59
		9,	5. Like a <i>flood</i> —as by <i>the flood</i> of Egypt	.	.	.	61
Neh.	3,	8.	No—situate among <i>the rivers</i>	.	.	.	62
Zech.	10,	11.	All the deeps of <i>the river</i> shall dry up.	.	.	.	63

Now in the first thirty-one of these passages there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Nile is intended: so that the first which will require notice is that which we find in 2 Kings xix. 24, and Isai. xxxvii. 25. Here at first sight it might be thought that the word *yeor* was used in a general way for “river.” But Sennacherib had just returned from his Egyptian campaign (see Prid. Conn. B.C. 710): and “the principal cities of Egypt, the scene of his late exploits, were chiefly defended by deep moats, canals, or large lakes made by labour and art, with which they were surrounded.” Lowth, *ad loc.* So that there can be little doubt that the boast of the Assyrian monarch refers, not to “rivers” in general, but to Egyptian “canals” in connection with the Nile, by which their towns were defended. These he pretends to have drained with as much ease as a gardener manages his פלגים *palgim*, or little conduits for irrigation; of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The next passage (No. 33, Job xxviii. 10) is, like the preceding, subject to having its Egyptian origin overlooked. But let us look at it a little closer. Job is here bent on contrasting the wisdom of man with the true wisdom,—the knowledge of God. For this end he enumerates in the beginning of the chapter the most wonderful inventions of human sagacity known in his time. Had printing, telescopes, gunpowder, steam-engines, railroads, electric telegraphs, and the like, been known in his day, they would doubtless have occurred in his list of wonders: but in default of these he is content to

enumerate mining (v. 1), the smelting of metals (v. 2), and some other things not clearly understood by us : and then in v. 10, 11, he adds :

He cutteth out rivers (*Yeorim*) among the rocks,
 And his eye seeth every precious thing :
 He restraineth the floods (*Neharoth*) from overflowing,
 And the hidden thing bringeth he forth to light.

Now, omitting the alternate lines of the quatrain, which are not to our present purpose, what is this in plain prose but, "In Egypt man makes canals from the Nile, and thus carries its waters and fertility even among rocks ; while in Mesopotamia, where the overflowing of the great rivers would be injurious to the land, he confines them to their courses by embankments, or takes off the superfluous waters by cross cuts, such as the *Nahr Isa*, *Nahr Malka*, etc.?" So that we have here a highly probable reference to Egypt : and Job is shown to have had considerable knowledge of both the Nile and the Mesopotamian rivers.

The reference to Egypt in the passages 34-40 is obvious : we pass therefore to Is. xxiii. 3. On this Lowth observes, "The Nile is here called *Shikhor*, as it is in Jer. xi. 18 and 1 Chron. xiii. 5" (he might have added Josh. xiii. 3). "It had this name from the blackness of its waters charged with the mud which it brings down from Ethiopia when it overflows, *et viridem Ægyptum nigra fecundat arena* ; as it was called by the Greeks *Μελας* and the Latins *Melo* for the same reason. . . . Egypt, by its extraordinary fertility, caused by the overflowing of the Nile, supplied the neighbouring nations with corn ; by which branch of trade the Tyrians gained great wealth." The references given above make the connection of *Shikhor* with Egypt, and therefore of *Yeor*, "the river," with the Nile unquestionable. But I am not altogether satisfied that *Shikhor* means the Nile in general ; though from Jer. ii. 18 there can be little doubt that a stream of some kind is intended, since its "waters" are spoken of, and it is contrasted with the *Nahar* of Mesopotamia. The passage (Josh. xiii. 3) overlooked by

Lowth, is an important one: it tells us that *Shikhor* is “before” that is, East of Egypt. It was, therefore, not the Nile in general, but the Pelusiac branch of that river. This accounts for its being in Josh. xiii. 13, and 1 Chron. xiii. 5, spoken of as the boundary between Israel and Egypt; though as Gesenius observes *Nakhal Mitzraïm*, the Torrent of Egypt (Wady-el-Arish) might have been expected. I presume the name relates, if indeed it be a Shemitic word at all, to the “blackness” of the mud of Pelusium, to which its Greek name (*Πηλουσιον* from *πηλος* “mud”) refers: though it is susceptible also of a Coptic derivation in the same sense. In this the *nigra arena* of Virgil is probably correct; though it has led Lowth and others into an error with respect to the colour of the Nile in flood, and the origin of the name *Μελας*. This, as both the ancient monuments and modern travellers testify, is not “black” but a dingy “red;” so that the name *Melas* alludes not to the colour in flood, but to the depth and clearness of the water of the Nile, like Homer’s *μελαν υδωρ*. The monuments represent the quiet Nile “blue;” and one branch is called *Bahr-al-azreq*, the Blue River. Indeed the word “Nile” itself, which is not a native appellation, but perhaps came to the Greeks from the East, signifies “blue” in Sanskrit, Persian, and other Hindo-germanic dialects. So that if *Shikhor* denotes the Nile in general, it is not from its turbid waters, but from their blue transparency. For this reason most large rivers are called “Niles” by the Arabs: thus the “Nile of the Negroes” is the Niger of the Romans, and *Quorra* of the natives; both of which names probably have reference to the “dark blue” approaching to “black” colour of deep clear water. The latter word is probably cognate with the Sanskrit *kala*, Greek *κελαινος*, and Turkish *kara*: which last in union with *su*, “water”—*kara-su*, the Black-water, is the name of an infinity of streams in the Turkish provinces of Asia; as is its equivalent, of several of our own.

Considerable difficulty attends the interpretation of the next passage (No. 42, Isai. xxiii. 10). Lowth translates thus:

“Overflow thy land, like a river, O daughter of Tarshish; the mound is no more.” He most unreasonably explains “daughter of Tarshish” to mean Tyre itself! overlooks the reference of *Yeor* to the Nile; and on “the mound” observes, “A city taken by siege . . . whose wealth is dissipated, whose people is scattered over the wide country, is compared to a river whose banks are broken down, and its waters, let loose and overflowing all the neighbouring plains, are wasted and lost.” Henderson, however, sees “that the comparison is taken from the inundation of the Nile,” and therefore has “the river;” and correctly understands Tarshish itself by “daughter of Tarshish.” The last clause he translates, “the restraint is no more;” and considers the whole to be a proclamation to the Spaniards, enslaved by the Tyrian colony of Tartessus, that the restraining power of the home government is at an end. Both these explanations are ingenious; but to me they are far from satisfactory. If we are forced to adhere to the present text, I should be inclined to take עבר *'ábar*, as the Vulgate does, in the sense of “crossing,” “passing to the other side of.” We should thus obtain “Pass to the other side of thy land, like the Nile, O daughter of Tarshish; the girdle is no more:” very nearly as the Vulgate has it: “*Transi terram tuam quasi flumen, filia maris; non est cingulum ultra tibi:*” where *mare* for “Tarshish” is a mere fancy of the translator. From this we might extract some such meaning as the following: “Turn thy trade into a new channel, as the Nile does its waters, when the mounds are broken.” But this is not over satisfactory; and, in fact, the version of the LXX. gives us reason to suspect that the present Hebrew is very corrupt. They have, Εργαζου την γην σου, και γαρ πλοια ουκετι ερχεται εκ Καρχηδονος, “Cultivate thy land, for ships do no more come from Carthage.” On this Henderson observes that it is “an excellent sense, were it at all warranted by the original; but this not being the case, Michaelis was quite unjustifiable in adopting it.” I do not know Michaelis’s reasons for adopting it; but without knowing that I had so strong an ally I had long noticed that the ren-

dering of the LXX. was not a "paraphrase" as Henderson calls it, but the result of very different readings. Instead of

עב[ר]־אֶרֶץ־כִּיָּא[רְב]־תִתְּרִישִׁי־אֵי־מִן[ח]־עֹד , they read

עב[ר]־אֶרֶץ־כִּיָּא־נִי[ו]־תִתְּרִישִׁי־אֵי־מִן[ה]־עֹד , or rather

עב[ר]־אֶרֶץ־כִּי־צִיב[תִּתְּרִישִׁי־אֵי־מִן[ה]־עֹד ; which will give

"Cultivate thy land, for the ships (1) of Tarshish," or, (2) "of the daughter of Tarshish shall be no more from thence." Of this the LXX.'s version is merely a free translation, with their habitual substitution of Carthage for Tarshish. If this correction be admitted, it will be seen that *Yeor* is disposed of altogether; but if it be retained, the allusion may as well be to the Nile as to any other river: so that my argument, if not supported, is at least neither contradicted nor weakened by this very doubtful passage.

In the next passage (No. 43, Isai. xxxiii. 21) I conceive that the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other, are symbolized by their rivers,—the *Nâhâr*, or Euphrates and Tigris; and the *Yeor*, or Nile. The Israelites had long sought protection under one or other of these their powerful neighbours. But now they are assured that their God shall be to them *loco Euphratum et Nilorum quamvis latorum*, i.e., in the place of Assyria and Egypt, however powerful; in fact, a stronger protection to them than these kingdoms had ever been. This explanation gives a marked significancy to the passage, which otherwise would scarce have had any meaning at all. Henderson recognises this sense, but Lowth seems wholly to have overlooked it. The former correctly remarks that מְקוֹם must be taken adverbially: not "a place" as in E.V., but "in place," or "instead of."

The reference of *Yeor* to the Nile in the eleven passages next following is indubitable. We then, however, come to Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7, where the name would certainly seem to be applied to another river,—the Khiddeqel, or Tigris. The evidence is so strongly in favour of our taking *Yeôr* as the exclusive and proper name of the Nile, that I almost doubt whether even

here we should view it in any other light. Is it not within the limits of possibility, that there may be here an intentional, however abrupt, change of scene from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Nile? Such an alteration of the scene of the vision might be made for the purpose of indicating that the events, whereby the accomplishment of the prophecy should be brought about, should be intimately connected with and arise out of the affairs of Egypt? Certainly, if the Israelites are ever again to be restored to their own land, it must be either by the assistance of the government of Egypt, or in spite of its opposition. But if this opinion meets with no favour from my readers, rather than yield the point that *Yeör* means exclusively the Nile, I shall fall back on the belief that Daniel (an exile from his country from his childhood, and possessing but a book knowledge of its language), had in this place made an unusual and somewhat inaccurate use of the word.

The only other passage requiring notice is the last. In this, owing to the combined mention of Egypt and Assyria, it would seem doubtful whether the Nile or the Euphrates were intended; a doubt which the context would not clear up. But after the evidence which has been produced, we can have no doubt that the use of the word *Yeör* fixes it to the former; just as in a similar case (Isaiah xi. 15) it will be shown that the Euphrates is the river intended.

We have thus gone through all the passages in which *yeor* occurs; and excluding the four occurrences of it in Daniel, have seen that there are very few of the remaining fifty-nine in which the word could possibly signify "a river" in general. And even in these it has been shown that a most apposite and significant sense is obtained by admitting a reference to the Nile, in the place of the very tame one which is afforded by translating the word *yeor* by the indefinite word "river."

II. נָהָר *NAHAR*, THE EUPHRATES, ETC.

Náhâr is supposed by the lexicographers to be derived from נָהַר *nâhar*, "to flow." This may pass as a grammatical fiction;

but the truth is more probably that the noun is the root, and the verb in this sense the derivative. The primitive sense of the verb is seen in Psalm xxxiv. 5, and Isaiah lx. 1, where it signifies "to shine," and is identical with נֹר *nûr*, the equivalent of the Arabic نَار or نور "to shine;" and is connected with the Chaldee נֹר or נֹרָא, and Syriac ܢܘܪ *nûr* or *nûrah*, "fire," which root, in the sense of "light," is a frequent constituent of Oriental names, as *e.g.* Nour-ed-din, Nour-mahal, Koh-i-noor. Hence it is probable that the primitive notion in *Nâhâr* is that of "shining;" and that it signifies "a bright clear stream," such as poets call a "shining river." Thus it seems to imply a calm and equable stream, and is contrasted with such as are mere torrents, since these from their nature can seldom be otherwise than turbid. Scarcely any streams of this description were known to the ancient Israelites, except the Nile, and the Euphrates, with its branches; unless their own river, the Jordan, deserved the name. But, unless perhaps very rarely as a poetical title, the Jordan is never so styled in the Old Testament; and the Nile had, as we have seen, its own proper name. The Euphrates or Frâth, and the Tigris or Khiddeqel, had also each its proper name; but there being no name for their united waters, the Shât-el-Arab of the moderns, it became expedient to have one name for the whole system of rivers connected with the Euphrates. And the more so, inasmuch as those who were not intimately acquainted with the geography of Mesopotamia (and the Jews had not much to boast of in this respect), would often have a difficulty in specifying on which of the streams any particular event occurred; or even any given place was situated. Thus they as a matter of convenience would be led to adopt the custom, which had probably originated with the natives of Mesopotamia, of calling either or both of the great rivers of that country by the name *Nâhâr*, or "the river." For we may observe even in our own country that the lower order of people are seldom acquainted with the proper name of the stream which drains the town or village in which they live, but are content to call it "the river,"

“the brook,” or even “the mill-stream,” if there happens to be a mill upon it. But, however this may be, it is certain that the word *Náhâr* came to be considered as the proper name of the Euphratean river system. And I shall endeavour to show that in many places, where it has hitherto been looked upon merely as an appellative, and as signifying “a river” in general, much light will be gained by viewing it as a proper name; or, at all events, by understanding it as used with a reference more or less direct to the great rivers of Mesopotamia.

But though the Euphrates and its tributaries are so often intended by the word *Náhâr*, I am far from asserting that the name is confined to them so exclusively as *Yeör* is to the Nile. In one place it is distinctly applied to the waters of Damascus. In several places it is applied to the Nile, though usually only as a variant after the river intended has been fixed by the antecedent use of *Yeör*. The “sea” also is so called in at least one passage; but I doubt whether the Jordan is signified in a single one of the following passages, which are all that it occurs in, either in its usual form *Náhâr*, or in the Chaldee נהר *Nehâr*.

Gen.	2, 10.	And a <i>river</i> went out of Eden to water	. . .	1
	13.	The name of the second <i>river</i> is Gichon	. . .	2
	14.	The name of the third <i>river</i> is Hiddekel	. . .	3
	14.	And the fourth <i>river</i> is Euphrates	. . .	4
	15, 18.	From the <i>river</i> of Egypt, to the great	. . .	5
	18.	<i>River</i> ,—the <i>river</i> Euphrates	. . .	6, 7
	24, 10.	He arose and went to <i>Aram-naharaïm</i>	. . .	8
	31, 21.	He rose up, and passed over the <i>river</i>	. . .	9
	36, 37.	And Saul of Rehoboth by the <i>river</i> reigned	. . .	10
Exod.	7, 19.	Upon their streams, upon their <i>rivers</i> .	. . .	11
	8, 5.	Over the streams, over the <i>rivers</i>	. . .	12
	23, 21.	And from the desert unto the <i>river</i>	. . .	13
Num.	22, 5.	Pethor which is by the <i>river</i>	. . .	14
	24, 6.	As gardens by the <i>river's</i> side	. . .	15
Deut.	1, 7.	Unto the great <i>river</i> , the <i>river</i> Euphrates	. . .	16, 17
	11, 24.	From the <i>river</i> , the <i>river</i> Euphrates	. . .	18, 19
	23, 4,	Balaam . . of Pethor of <i>Aram-naharaïm</i>	. . .	20
Josh.	1, 4.	Unto the great <i>river</i> , the <i>river</i> Euphrates	. . .	21, 22

Josh. 24,	2.	Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the <i>flood</i> .	23
	3.	I took . . Abraham from the other side of the <i>flood</i>	24
	14.	Your fathers served on the other side of the <i>flood</i>	25
	15.	That (were) on the other side of the <i>flood</i> .	26
Judg. 3,	8.	Cushan-rishathaim, king of <i>Aram-naharaim</i> .	27
2 Sam. 3,	3.	To recover his border at the <i>river</i> Euphrates .	28
	10, 16.	The Syrians that (were) beyond the <i>river</i> .	29
1 Kin. 4,	21.	Solomon reigned from the <i>river</i> unto the land .	30
	24.	Dominion over all on this side the <i>river</i> .	31
	24.	Over all the kings on this side the <i>river</i> .	32
	14, 15.	The Lord . . shall scatter them beyond the <i>river</i>	33
2 Kin. 5,	12.	Abana and Pharpar, <i>rivers</i> of Damascus .	34
	17, 16.	And in Habor (by) the <i>river</i> of Gozan .	35
	18, 11.	And in Habor (by) the <i>river</i> of Gozan .	36
	23, 29.	Against the king of Assyria to the <i>river</i> Euphrates	37
	24,	7. From the river of Egypt to the <i>river</i> Euphrates .	38
1 Chr. 1,	48.	Shaul of Rehoboth by the <i>river</i> .	39
	5,	9. Eastward he inhabited . . from the <i>river</i> Euphrates	40
	26.	Habor and Hara and to the <i>river</i> Gozan .	41
	18,	3. His dominion by the <i>river</i> Euphrates .	42
	19, 16.	The Syrians that (were) beyond the <i>river</i> .	43
2 Chr. 9,	26.	From the <i>river</i> . . unto the land of the Philistines	44
Ezra 4,	10.	The rest (that are) on this side the <i>river</i> .	45
	11.	Thy servants the men on this side the <i>river</i> .	46
	16.	Shalt have no portion on this side the <i>river</i> .	47
	17.	In Samaria, and unto the rest beyond the <i>river</i> .	48
	20.	Which have ruled over all . . beyond the <i>river</i> .	49
5,	3.	Tatnai, governor on this side the <i>river</i> .	50
	6.	Tatnai, governor on this side the <i>river</i> .	51
	6.	Apharsachites, which [were] on this side the <i>river</i>	52
6,	6.	Apharsachites, which [are] beyond the <i>river</i> .	53
	6.	Tatnai, governor beyond the <i>river</i> .	54
	8.	Of the tribute beyond the <i>river</i> .	55
	13.	Tatnai, governor on this side the <i>river</i> .	56
7,	21.	The treasures which [are] beyond the <i>river</i> .	57
	25.	Judge all the people . . beyond the <i>river</i> .	58
8,	15.	To the <i>river</i> that runneth to Ahava .	59
	21.	Proclaimed a fast . . at the <i>river</i> of Ahava .	60
	31.	Then we departed from the <i>river</i> of Ahava .	61

Ezra	8, 36.	And to the governors on this side the <i>river</i> .	62
Neh.	2, 7.	Letters . . to the governors beyond the <i>river</i>	63
	9.	I came to the governors beyond the <i>river</i>	64
	3, 7.	The throne of the governor on this side the <i>river</i>	65
Job	14, 11.	And the <i>flood</i> decayeth and drieth up.	66
	20, 17.	He shall not see the rivers, the <i>floods</i> .	67
	22, 16.	Whose foundation was overflown with a <i>flood</i>	68
	28, 11.	He bindeth the <i>floods</i> from overflowing	69
	40, 23.	He drinketh up a <i>river</i> and hasteth not	70
Psal.	24, 2.	And established it upon the <i>floods</i>	71
	46, 4.	[There is] a <i>river</i> , the streams whereof	72
	60, tit.	When he strove with <i>Aram-naharaïm</i>	73
	66, 6.	They went through the <i>flood</i> on foot	74
	72, 8.	From the <i>river</i> unto the ends of the earth	75
	74, 15.	Thou driedst up mighty <i>rivers</i>	76
	78, 16.	Caused waters to run down like <i>rivers</i>	77
	80, 11.	And her branches unto the <i>river</i>	78
	89, 25.	And his right hand in the <i>rivers</i>	79
	93, 3.	The <i>floods</i> have lifted up, O LORD	80
	3.	The <i>floods</i> have lifted up their voice	81
	3.	The <i>floods</i> lift up their waves	82
	98, 8.	Let the <i>floods</i> clap their hands	83
	105, 41.	They ran in the dry places [like] a <i>river</i>	84
	107, 33.	He turneth <i>rivers</i> into a wilderness	85
	137, 1.	By the <i>rivers</i> of Babylon . . we sat down	86
Cant.	8, 7.	Neither can the <i>floods</i> drown it	87
Isaiah	7, 20.	By them beyond the <i>river</i> , by the king of Assyria	88
	8, 7.	The waters of the <i>river</i> . . . the king of Assyria	89
	11, 15.	Shall he shake his hand over the <i>river</i>	90
	18, 1.	Which is beyond the <i>rivers</i> of Cush	91
	2.	Whose land the <i>rivers</i> have spoiled	92
	7.	Whose land the <i>rivers</i> have spoiled	93
	19, 5.	And the <i>river</i> shall be wasted and dried	94
	6.	They shall turn the <i>rivers</i> far away	95
	27, 12.	From the channel of the <i>river</i> to the stream of Egypt.	96
	33, 21.	A place of broad <i>rivers</i> and streams	97
	41, 18.	I will open <i>rivers</i> in high places	98
	42, 15.	I will make the <i>rivers</i> islands	99

Isaiah	43,	2.	And through the <i>rivers</i> , they shall not overflow thee	100	
		19.	A way in the wilderness and <i>rivers</i> in the desert	101	
		20.	Waters in the wilderness, <i>rivers</i> in the desert	102	
	44,	27.	Be dry ! and I will dry up thy <i>rivers</i> .	103	
	47,	2.	Uncover the thigh, pass over the <i>rivers</i>	104	
	48,	18.	Then had thy peace been as a <i>river</i>	105	
	50,	2.	I will make the <i>rivers</i> a wilderness	106	
	59,	19.	When the enemy shall come in like a <i>flood</i> .	107	
	66,	12.	I will extend peace to her like a <i>river</i>	108	
Jer.	2,	18.	The way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the <i>river</i>	109	
	46,	2.	By the <i>river</i> Euphrates in Carchemish	110	
		6.	Fail toward the north, by the <i>river</i> Euphrates	111	
		7.	Whose waters are moved as the <i>rivers</i>	112	
		8.	Egypt . . his waters are moved as the <i>rivers</i>	113	
		10.	In the north country by the <i>river</i> Euphrates	114	
Ezek.	1,	1.	Among the captives by the <i>river</i> of Chebar.	115	
		3.	In the land of the Chaldeans, by the <i>river</i>	116	
	3,	15.	Tel-abib . . that dwelt by the <i>river</i> of Chebar	117	
		23.	The glory which I saw by the <i>river</i> of Chebar	118	
	10,	15.	Living creature that I saw by the <i>river</i> of Chebar	119	
		20.	The God of Israel, by the <i>river</i> of Chebar	120	
		22.	Which I saw by the <i>river</i> of Chebar	121	
	31,	4.	The deep set him up on high with her <i>rivers</i>	122	
		15.	And I restrained the <i>floods</i> thereof	123	
	32,	2.	Thou camest forth with thy <i>rivers</i> . . .	124	
		2.	And foulest their <i>rivers</i>	125	
		14.	And cause their <i>rivers</i> to run like oil	126	
	43,	3.	The vision that I saw by the <i>river</i> Chebar	127	
Dan.	7,	10.	A fiery <i>stream</i> issued . . from before him	128	
	10,	4.	The side of the great <i>river</i> , which is Hiddekel	129	
Jonah	2,	3.	And the <i>floods</i> compassed me about	130	
Micah	7,	12.	And from the fortress even to the <i>river</i>	131	
Nahum	1,	4.	And drieth up all the <i>rivers</i>	132	
		2,	6.	The gates of the <i>rivers</i> shall be opened	133
Hab.	3,	8.	Was the Lord displeased against the <i>rivers</i> ?	134	
		8.	Was thine anger against the <i>rivers</i> ?	135	
		9.	Thou didst cleave the earth with <i>rivers</i>	136	
Zeph.	3,	10.	From beyond the <i>rivers</i> of Cush	137	
Zech.	9,	10.	And from the <i>river</i> to the ends of the earth	138	

It is remarkable that the very first occurrence of the word *Náhâr* should present it in its peculiar sense, as the name of the combined stream of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Shât-el-Arab of oriental geographers. On this stream lay the land of Eden, and near its banks the Garden must have been situated. It is not improbable that Eden occupied the present site of the Persian Gulph; which, previous to the Deluge, might not have extended so far inland. Of the position of Paradise there could have been no doubt, had not the matter been made obscure by the absurd speculations of persons ill acquainted with the geography of the country. Even had nothing been known of the actual geography, the language of Moses is clear enough; and nothing but some preconceived notion could have prevented the words, "from thence it was parted, and became into four heads" from being taken in their natural sense; namely, that the river of Eden was formed by the union of four others. Yet Calvin, Bochart and others suppose that the four heads are the Euphrates and Tigris entering, and two (presumed) branches or mouths of the river "leaving" Eden; to which it is a sufficient answer to observe that the mouth of a river is not its "head" רֹשׁ *rôsh*; but its "end" קֵצֶה *qâtzeh* (Josh. xv. 5), or סוֹף *sôph* (2 Chron. xx. 16). Still less reconcileable with common sense is the opinion held by Reland, Calmet, and others, with whom in substance Michaelis agrees. These place Paradise amid the sources of the four rivers, Euphrates, Tigris, Phasis, and Oxus (Araxes, Michaelis). Unfortunately Chesney has fallen under the same hallucination; but he makes the two doubtful rivers, the Halys and Araxes. Paradise, therefore, on this theory, was somewhere near Erzeroum. Now the height of this place is 1700 yards above the sea; and even that is less than the average of the table land. Here Tournefort found the wells frozen over on a night in July: and Xenophon met with six feet of snow in the winter, and found the inhabitants living underground to escape the severity of the climate. This being considered, I can only express a hope that Adam was not compelled to pass a winter

without clothes in such a Paradise as this. But beside this objection from the climate of Armenia, there is an equally fatal one in the wording of the text, which clearly affirms that the four rivers were branches of but one—the *Náhâr*, *κατ' ἐξοχην*. A similar objection lies against the Nile being considered as the Gikhon, an opinion held by most of the ancient commentators, with Josephus and the LXX., and maintained by Gesenius; but in spite of great names, geographically absurd. Nothing can be inferred from the use of the name Gikhôn, which signifies no more than a large river that floods and eats away its banks. (Compare the Arabic جَاغ and Syriac ܓܝܚܐ.) The name is applied by the Arabs, not only to the Nile, but to any large river, as the Ganges, Oxus, Araxes, etc. The strange speculations of the old commentators were excusable in them, since they were acquainted with no other rivers in those countries but the Euphrates and Tigris. But Chesney, who is so well acquainted with the Karoun, Karkhah, and other affluents of the Shât-el-Arab and Tigris from the east, is assuredly blind not to discover in these the missing Pishon and Gikhon. The Tigris being reckoned third, and the Euphrates fourth, it is evident the enumeration proceeds from east to west; as, indeed, the Oriental custom of calling the east the “first” quarter, might have led us to anticipate. Beginning then on the east, the first tributary of importance is the Karoun, which in part at the present time makes its way direct to the Persian Gulph; but it is well known that in these alluvial tracts the courses of the rivers are frequently changing. There can be little doubt that this is the Pishon; in size and importance it is little inferior to the Tigris itself. The Gikhon will be either the Kerkhah, the Diyâlâh, or the Azim; but which of them will depend upon their as yet unknown relative magnitude: all of them are large streams, though their real size is less apparent at their embouchure, from the drawing off and dispersion of their waters by the canals for irrigation.

We have then, in Gen. ii. 10-14 properly understood, evidence that the name *Náhâr* belongs to the Euphratean system

collectively, and to each of the larger affluents in particular. With these waters, or at least with one of the principal of them, Abraham was familiar; but it is not to be supposed that the geography of any foreign country could be known to the emir of a pastoral tribe in Mesopotamia. There is, therefore, a peculiar aptness in the language of Gen. xv. 18 deserving the notice of those who delight in tracing with Paley ("Horæ Paulinæ"), and Graves ("Lectures on the Pentateuch") the undesigned coincidences between Scripture and Scripture. The Nile, as yet unknown to him by name, (so that *Yeör* would have been unintelligible), is described to Abraham as the *Náhâr* or Euphrates of Egypt. This phraseology carries truthfulness on the face of it; for what would be more natural than for an English traveller in Mesopotamia, when conversing with an Arab, to speak of London as standing on the banks of the "Frât" of England? or to tell an Egyptian fellah that it stood on the "Nile" of that country? And at the same time what was less likely than such a phraseology to occur to the mind of an impostor forging a history of Abraham? Literary forgery had doubtless much improved, if indeed it was not invented, in the days of the authors of "Bel and the Dragon," and of "Susannah and the Elders." But who would suspect these bunglers of so refined a device as that of calling the Nile "the Euphrates of Egypt" in order to avoid the necessity of using a word unknown to Abraham?

In Gen. xxiv. 10, we meet with for the first time the term *Arâm-naharäim*, Aram, or Syria of the Two Rivers. This occurs in four other places (viz. Deut. xxiii. 4; Judges iii. 8; 1 Chr. xix. 6; and Psalm lx. title), and in all of them denotes the district comprised between the two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, corresponding to the classical "Mesopotamia," or Mid-River-Land, as well as to the modern "Al-gezirah," or The Island. From this term the ancient Egyptians formed their term for the Mesopotamian powers, which is read from the hieroglyphics, *Naharaina*. The terms פַּדְדַן-אַרָם *paddan-arâm*, "Plain," or rather "Arable-Arâm," (from the Syriac ܫܒܬܐ)

pidnâ, "a field," the root of which is the Syr. *ܦܕܢܐ* *padonâ*; Chaldee *פדן* *paddan*, Arabic *بَدَنَ* *paddan*, "a plough," or "yoke of oxen") is of more frequent occurrence in the Old Testament. For this we have in one place a substitution of the equivalent *שדה-ארם* *sedeh-aram* (Hosea xii. 12). And nearly equally common with "Paddan-Aram" is a term equivalent to "the Trans-Euphrates," as we shall see hereafter.

We find in Gen. xv. 18, the Euphrates dignified with the title of "the great river." This may prepare us to find its proper name entirely dropped, and "the river" used as its denomination for the future. Accordingly, in Gen. xxxi. 22, we find "the river," without any addition. Now this could have been no other than the Euphrates; for it was a river that lay in the way of one travelling from Kharrân to Gilead; which the Jordan certainly does not, while the Pharpar, or Chrysorrhoeas of Damascus, if it deserve the name of *Náhâr* at all (vide *infra*), is surely not of sufficient consequence to be styled "the river" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.

The signification of *Náhâr*, when thus used absolutely, having been now ascertained, we are in a condition to interpret the next passage (No. 10, Gen. xxxvi. 37; repeated in No. 39, 1 Chr. i. 48). We learn from Gen. x. 11, that Rekhowboth was the name of an Assyrian city, and therefore probably on the Tigris; which river, as we shall hereafter see, takes equally with Euphrates the title of *Náhâr*. But the present Rekhowboth may be different from this, and situated on the Euphrates itself; since there is a site called Er-Rahabeh on the western side of that river not far from Karkemish.

In Exod. vii. 19, and viii. 5, we have an indubitable application of the term *Náhâr* to the branches or canals of the Nile. We find the same application in Isaiah xix. 5, 6. But in all of these passages *Náhâr* is used as a variant, subordinate to the principal term *Ycôr*. There is therefore no danger of ambiguity; and the use of *Náhâr* is here of quite a different character to the comparative application of it in Gen. xv. 18, or in Ezek. xxxii. 2, hereafter to be noticed.

We have seen in Gen. xv. 18, that a promise was made to the seed of Abraham of the whole country from the Nile (*i.e.*, I presume, the Pelusiac branch of that river) to the Euphrates. In Ex. xxiii. 31, the definition of this country is somewhat varied, but it is evident that the district must be substantially the same, and that "the river" must be the Euphrates.

Pethor, the residence of Balaam, is mentioned twice in the Old Testament; namely, in Numb. xxii. 5, and in Deut. xxiii. 4. From the latter we learn that it was in "Arâm-naharaïm;" from the former, that it stood on the "Nâhâr." It is therefore impossible to doubt that Pethor was either on the Tigris or Euphrates. On the authority of Benjamin of Tudela it is believed to have been the same as Barbalissus (now Balis) on the Euphrates; a place nearly on the same parallel with Khelbon or Aleppo.

But there is a remarkable circumstance connected with the mention of this place in Numb. xxii. 5, which may well tempt us into a short digression. It is there described as situated **עַל-הַנָּהָר אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹן** "on the river of the land of the children of his people"—a singularly unmeaning expression, in the place of which we have the authority of the Samaritan text, of the Syriac and Vulgate versions, and of several MSS. of the Hebrew (though most of these last have had the ך erased), for reading **עַל-הַנָּהָר אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹן** "on the river of the land of the Beni-'Ammon, or Ammonites." This reading has therefore much probability in its favour, though the received reading is as old as the time of the LXX., who have *ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γῆς υἱῶν λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*. The corruption, if it be such, arose perhaps not simply from the carelessness of transcribers, but rather from the difficulty that was felt in the interpretation of the words: there being nothing in the land of the Beni-'Ammon that could be called a *nâhâr*. Reland hints, but does not venture to affirm, that it is the Jabbok, elsewhere only a torrent, **נַחַל** *nakhhal*. This is of course inadmissible, since Balaam declares himself (Numb. xxiii. 7) to have been fetched from Aram, and Deut. xxiii. 4, adds that this was *Arâm-naharaïm*. But though

the identification of Pethor with Barbalissus may be doubted, I have no difficulty in crediting such an extension of the territories of the Beni-'Ammon as would make the Euphrates their eastern boundary. We find them in the days of Jephthah, and again in those of Saul, sufficiently powerful to endanger the independence of Israel; and though defeated on both these occasions, they felt themselves powerful enough to provoke the hostility of David when at the height of his power. In the war which followed the insult to David's ambassadors, we find intimate relations subsisting between the Beni-'Ammon and the Mesopotamian princes (1 Chr. xix. 6). It is therefore evident that 'Ammon was a powerful nation during the Hebrew republic; and shortly before the passage of the Israelites had either deterred or successfully resisted an attack from the powerful king of the Amorites, when he wrested from their kinsmen of Moab a large portion of their territory. During the same period we hear no mention of Damascus as an independent state; this city, after a long silence respecting it, reappears in history in the reign of David. All these circumstances make it far from incredible that in the days of Balaam the territories of the Beni-'Ammon might have extended as far north as Balis on the Euphrates. But I must own that I am rather inclined to doubt the asserted position of Pethor, and to look for it much lower down the Euphrates. I should expect it to lie at no great distance from the embouchure of the Wadi-Hauran, along the course of which we may easily believe that the Beni-'Ammon would extend themselves in search of pasturage till they reached the banks of the Euphrates itself, and colonized it to a sufficient extent to be able to style a portion of its waters "the Nâhâr of the Beni-'Ammon." It is, however, rather against this, and in favour of the former view of the matter, that Balaam speaks of his native country as a hilly one (Numb. xxiii. 7); a description more applicable to the vicinity of Balis, than to the banks of the Euphrates farther to the south.

STEPHEN AUSTIN, PRINTER, HERTFORD

August, 1864.

EDINBURGH,
20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET.

LONDON,
14, HENRIETTA STREET,
COVENT GARDEN, W.C.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE'S PUBLICATIONS.

Any Book from this List will be supplied with the usual discount, or sent Post Free upon receipt of the price.

NEW PUBLICATIONS, and Recent Purchases at Reduced Prices.

- Fellowes (Robert, *LL.D.*) The Religion of the Universe, with consolatory Views of a Future State, and suggestions on the most beneficial topics of Theological Instruction. Third edition, revised with additions from the author's MS. and a preface by the Editor. Post 8vo. *Cloth.* 6s
- Mar Jacob (Bp. of Edessa) Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament, now first Edited in the original Syriac, with an English Translation and Notes by the Rev. G. PHILLIPS, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge. 8vo. *Cloth.* 5s.
- The Book of Job, translated from the original Hebrew, with Notes by the REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A. Rector of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate. post 8vo. *Cloth.* 3s 6d
- The Book of Ruth in Hebrew, with a critically revised Text, various readings, including an entirely new collation of Twenty-eight Hebrew MSS. (most of them not previously collated) and a Grammatical and Critical Commentary; to which is appended the Chaldee Targum, with various readings, Grammatical Notes, and a Chaldee Glossary. By Rev. Ch. H. H. WRIGHT, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. 8vo. *Cloth.* 7s 6d
- Frederick Rivers; Independent Parson. A Novel, by Mrs. FLORENCE WILLIAMSON. post 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s 6d
- Diez (F.) Romance Dictionary. An Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages, from the German of FR. DIEZ, with Additions by T. C. DONKIN, B.A. 8vo. *Cloth.* 15s
In this work the whole Dictionary which in the original is divided into four parts, has been, for greater convenience in reference, reduced to one Alphabet; and at the end is added a Vocabulary of all English Words connected with any of the Romance Words treated of throughout the work.
- Diez (F.) Introduction to the Grammar of the Romance Languages, translated by C. B. CAYLEY, B.A. 8vo. *Cloth.* 4s 6d
- Homer's Iliad, translated into blank verse by the Rev. T. S. NORGATE. post 8vo. *Cloth.* 15s
- Homer's Odyssey, translated into English dramatic blank verse. By the Rev. T. S. NORGATE. post 8vo. *Cloth.* 12s
- Batrachomyomachia. The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice, reproduced in English blank verse. By the Rev. T. S. NORGATE. post 8vo. *Sewed,* 1s.

Carrington (R. C., F.R.S.) Observations of the Spots on the Sun, from November 9, 1853, to March 24, 1861, made at Redhill. Illustrated by 166 plates. Royal 4to. *Cloth boards.* 25s

The publication of this work was aided by a Grant from the Fund placed at the disposal of the Royal Society by Her Majesty's Treasury.

Carrington (R. C., F.R.S.) Pocket Maps, Celestial and Terrestrial, on which the Equatorial Regions are exhibited continuously as on a globe by doubling down the polar sections successively on the right. (Each 5 inches $\times$ 13½). 1s

Platonis Phaedo. The Phaedo of Plato. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. D. GEDDES, M.A. Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen. 8vo. *cloth.* 8s

Mr. Herbert Spencer's Classification of the Sciences, to which are added Reasons for dissenting from the Philosophy of M. COMTE. 8vo. *Sewed.* 2s 6d

Mr. Herbert Spencer's Second Series of Essays, Scientific, Political and Speculative. 8vo. *Cloth* (1863). 10s

CONTENTS:—1. The Nebular Hypothesis.—2. Illogical Geology.—3. The Philosophy of Laughter.—4. Bain on the Emotions and the Will.—5. The Social Organism.—6. Representative Government—What is it good for?—7. Parliamentary Reform: The Dangers and the Safeguards.—8. Prison Ethics.—9. State-tampering with Money and Banks.—10. The Morals of Trade.

Mr. Herbert Spencer's System of Philosophy. Vol. I. FIRST PRINCIPLES. 8vo. *Cloth.* 16s

By the same author,

1. EDUCATION: INTELLECTUAL, MORAL, AND PHYSICAL. 8vo. *Cloth.* 6s

2. ESSAYS: SCIENTIFIC, POLITICAL, AND SPECULATIVE. 8vo. *Cloth.* 12s

3. PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY. 8vo. *Cloth.* 16s.

Prior (Dr. R. C. A.) On the Popular Names of

BRITISH PLANTS, being an Explanation of the origin and meaning of the names of our indigenous and most commonly cultivated Species. By R. C. A. PRIOR, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London. post 8vo. *Cloth.* 7s 6d

Sullivan (W. K.) Celtic Studies, from the German of Dr. Hermann Ebel, with an Introduction on the Roots, Stems and Derivatives, and on Case-endings of Nouns in the Indo-European Languages. By W. K. SULLIVAN, Ph. D., M R.I.A., etc. 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s

Sullivan and O'Reilly. Notes on the Geology and Mineralogy of the Provinces of Santander and Madrid. By W. K. Sullivan, Ph. D., M.R.I.A., etc., and J. P. O'Reilly, C.E., etc. With 17 coloured plates. 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s

Lepsius (C. R.) Standard Alphabet for reducing unwritten Languages and foreign graphic systems to a uniform orthography in European letters. Second edition (recommended by the Church Missionary Society). 8vo. *Cloth.* 3s.

Lane (E. W.) Arabic-English Lexicon, derived from the best and most copious Eastern Sources, comprising a very large collection of words and significations omitted in the Kámoos, with Supplements to its abridged and defective explanations, ample grammatical and critical comments, and examples in prose and verse. Part I. (to consist of eight parts and a supplement) Roy. 4to. *Cloth.* 25s

Mackay (R. W.) The Tübingen School and its Antecedents. A Review of the History and present Condition of Modern Theology. By R. W. MACKAY, M.A., Author of "The Progress of the Intellect," "A Sketch of the History of Christianity," etc. 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s 6d

Neale (E. Vansittart, M.A.) *The Analogy of Thought and Nature investigated.* 8vo. *Cloth.* 7s 6d

Davidson (Dr. S.) *An Introduction to the Old Testament, critical, historical and theological, containing a discussion of the most important questions belonging to the several Books.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. 3 vols. 8vo. *Cloth.* 42s.

Professor Huxley, F.R.S. *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature, or Essays upon—*I. The Natural History of the Man-like Apes. II. The Relation of Man to the Lower Animals. III. Fossil Remains of Man. By T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S. With woodcut Illustrations. *Third Thousand.* 8vo. *Cloth.* 6s

Huxley and Hawkins. *Comparative Osteology. An Elementary Atlas of Comparative Osteology.* To consist of 12 Plates in Folio, drawn on Stone by B. WATERHOUSE HAWKINS, Esq. The Figures selected and arranged by Professor T. H. Huxley, F.R.S. (*nearly ready.*)

Tattam (Ven. Dr.) *Grammar of the Egyptian Language, as contained in the Coptic, Sahidic, and Bashmuric Dialects; together with Alphabets and Numerals in the Hieroglyphic and Enchorial Characters* by the Rev. HENRY TATTAM, D.D., F.R.S. 2nd edition, revised and corrected. 8vo. *Cloth.* 9s

Davy (John, M.D.) *Physiological Researches.* By JOHN DAVY, M.D., F.R.S., etc. 8vo. *Cloth.* 1863. 15s

Davy (John, M.D.) *On some of the more important Diseases of the Army, with contributions to Pathology,* by JOHN DAVY, M.D., F.R.S., Lond. and Ed., Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, etc. 8vo. *Cloth.* 15s

Littledale (Rev. Dr.) *Offices from the Service Books of the Holy Eastern Church, with a Translation, Notes, and Glossary,* by RICHARD F. LITTEDALE, LL.D. vol. crown 8vo. *Cloth.* 6s

Baedeker's Traveller's Guides in English.

1. SWITZERLAND, with the Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the adjacent districts of Piedmont, Lombardy and the Tyrol. With general travelling maps, special maps, plans, panoramas and views. 12mo. *Cloth.* 5s 6d.
2. THE RHINE, from Switzerland to Holland. The Black Forest, Vosges, Haardt, Odenwald, Taunus, Eifel, Seven Mountains, Nahe, Lahn, Moselle, Ahr, Wupper, and Ruhr. With views, maps, and plans of towns, etc. 12mo. *Cloth.* 4s.

Bopp's Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonic Languages. Translated by Professor EASTWICK, and Edited by Professor H. H. WILSON. 3 vols. 8vo. THIRD EDITION. *Cloth bds.* 42s

Bengelii (Dr. Joh. Alb.) *Gnomon novi Testamenti in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas, profunditas, concinnitas, salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur.* Edit. III. per filium superstitem E. Bengel quondam curata Quinto recusa adjuvante J. Steudel. Royal 8vo. Printed on Writing Paper. 1862. *Cloth bds.* 12s

Anselm (Archiepisc. Cantuar.) *Cur Deus Homo?* libri II. Foolscap 8vo. *Cloth,* 2s. Sewed, 1s 6d

Monier Williams. *Indian Epic Poetry, being the Substance of Lectures recently given at Oxford: with a full Analysis of the Ramayana, and the leading Story of the Maha Bharata,* by M. WILLIAMS, Boden Professor of Sanscrit. 8vo. *Cloth.* 5s

Old Irish Glossaries. Cormac's Glossary. Codex

A (from a MS. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy), O'DAVOREN'S GLOSSARY (from a MS. in the British Museum), and a GLOSSARY to the CALENDAR of OINGUS the CULDEE (from a MS. in the Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin). Edited with an Introduction and Index by WHITLEY STOKES, Esq. 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s 6d

Natural History Review. A Quarterly Journal of

Biological Science. Edited by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, F.R.S., Dr. R. McDonnell, Dr. E. P. Wright, F.L.S., G. Busk, F.R.S., Professor Huxley, F.R.S., John Lubbock, F.R.S., Professor J. R. Greene, P. L. Sclater, F.R.S., Sec. Z.S., F.L.S., D. Oliver, F.R.S., F.L.S., F. Currey, F.R.S., and Wyville Thomson, LL.D., F.R.S.E., with woodcuts and lithographic illustrations. Quarterly, 4s. Annual subscription paid in advance, 12s

Kiepert's New Atlas Antiquus. 3rd Edition. Ten

Maps of the Ancient World, for Schools and Colleges, coloured, and mounted on guards. Folio. *Boards.* 1863. 6s.

Wright (Professor Wm.) Arabic Grammar, founded

on the German work of Caspari, with many additions and corrections. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, MS. Department, British Museum. Complete in 1 vol. 8vo. *Cloth.* 15s

— Vol. II. comprising the Syntax and an introduction to Prosody, may be had separately, price 7s 6d

Koran, newly translated from the Arabic; with

Preface, Notes and Index. The Suras arranged in chronological order. By the Rev. J. M. RODWELL, M.A., Rector of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate. Crown 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s 6d

Moor's Hindu Pantheon. A new Edition from the

original copper-plates. 104 plates, with descriptive letter-press, by the Rev. A. P. Moor. Royal 4to. *Cloth boards, gilt.* 31s 6d

Dr. Cureton's History of the Martyrs in Palestine,

by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, discovered in a very ancient SYRIAC Manuscript. Edited (*in Syriac*) and translated into English by WILLIAM CURETON, D.D. Canon of Westminster, Member of the Imperial Institute of France. Royal 8vo. *Cloth.* 10s 6d

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record.

Edited by B. H. COWPER (Editor of the New Testament in Greek from Codex A; a Syriac Grammar, &c.) published Quarterly, price 5s.—Annual Subscription, 17s, post free

Home and Foreign Review, No. VIII. (April 1864).

CONTENTS.

1. The Irish Exodus and Tenant Right.—2. The Schleswig-Holstein Movement in Germany.—3. Agriculture in France.—4. The Bank Charter Act.—5. The Progress of Chemical Science.—6. Thackeray.—7. Indian Epic Poetry.—8. Asceticism among Mahometan Nations.—9. The Colonization of Northumbria.—10. The Rise of the English Poor Law.—11. Dr. Smith's Biblical Dictionary.—12. Conflicts with Rome.—13. Contemporary Literature.—14. Current Events.

Max Müller. Ancient Sanskrit Literature and the

Primitive Religion of the Brahmans. A History of Ancient Sanscrit Literature as far as it illustrates the Primitive Religion of the Brahmans. By Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. 8vo. *Cloth.* Second edition, revised. 21s

Schnorr's Bible Pictures, Scripture History Illus-

trated in a Series of 180 Engravings on Wood, from Original Designs by Julius Schnorr. (With English Texts.) Royal 4to. *handsomely bound in cloth gilt extra,* 42s

Or, the same in 3 vols. (each containing 60 plates) *cloth boards, extra gilt,* 15s each.

"Messrs. Williams and Norgate have published here Julius Schnorr's "Bible Pictures," a series in three volumes, of large woodcuts, by that admirable artist, which seem to us precisely to supply the want of the

mass of English people, we consider ourselves doing a service to the cause of true public love of art by calling attention to them."

Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1859.

BOOKS REDUCED IN PRICE.

- Barrett (J.) *Evangelium sec. Matthæum, ex. Cod.*
Rescripto in Bibliotheca Coll. Trin. Dublin. Edidit J. Barrett, cui adjungitur appendix collationem codicis Montfortiani completens. 4to. *Dublin*, 1801, (pub. £3. 3s) 21s
- Bernstein and Kirsch. *Syriac Chrestomathy and Lexicon*.—*Chrestomathia Syriaea cum Lexico*. 2 vols. 8vo. *Lips.* 1836, (pub. 14s sewed). *Cloth bds.* in 1 vol. 7s 6d
- Genesis, the Book of, in Hebrew, with a critically revised Text, various readings, and grammatical and critical Notes, &c. By the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, M.A. 8vo. *Cloth bds.* (pub. at 10s 6d) 5s
- Jonah Tetraglott. The Book of Jonah, in four Semitic Versions, viz., Chaldee, Syriac, Aethiopic, and Arabic, with Corresponding Glossaries, by W. Wright, MS. Department, British Museum. 8vo. *Boards*, (pub. at 7s 6d) 4s
- Latham (R. G.) *Philological, Ethnographical, and other Essays*, by R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S., etc. 8vo. *Cloth*, (pub. at 10s 6d) 5s
- Kennedy (James) *Essays, Ethnological and Linguistic*, by the late James Kennedy, Esq., formerly H. B. M. Judge at the Havana. Edited by C. M. Kennedy, B.A. 8vo. *Cloth*, (pub. at 7s 6d) 4s
- -- *Modern Poets and Poetry of Spain*. 8vo. *cloth*, (pub. at 16s) 4s
- Tricoupi's Greek Revolution. ΣΠ. ΤΡΙΚΟΥΠΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ. (In Modern Greek.) A History of the Greek Revolution by Spiridion Tricoupi, Greek Ambassador in London. 4 vols. 8vo. (pub. at 48s) 30s
- Hardy (Rev. Spence) *Eastern Monachism (Buddhism)*. An Account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Writings, &c. &c. of the Order of Mendicants founded by Gotama Budha. 8vo. *Cloth*, (pub. at 12s) 7s 6d
- Natural History Review. (First Series.) A Quarterly Journal of Zoology, Botany, Geology, and Palæontology. Edited by A. H. Halliday, W. H. Harvey, S. Haughton, E. Perceval Wright, &c. The complete First Series, 7 vols. 8vo. (pub. at £4. 18s) 42s
Single Volumes may be had, Vol. I. to VI. 7s 6d each.
- Sauerwein (G.) *Turkish Dictionary*. A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Turkish Languages. 12mo. *Cloth*, (pub. at 5s) 2s
- Barker (W. B.) *Turkish Reading Book*, with a Grammar and Vocabulary. 8vo. 1854. *Cloth*, (pub. at 14s) 3s
- Reynard the Fox, A burlesque Poem of the 15th Century, translated from the Low-German Original by D. W. Soltau. 8vo. *Hamburg*, 1826. *Cloth*, (pub. at 5s) 3s
- Csink's complete practical Grammar of the Hungarian Language, with Exercises, Selections from the best Authors, and Vocabularies; to which is added an historical Sketch of Hungarian Literature. Stout 8vo. about 500 pages. *Cloth*, (pub. at 8s) 4s

NEW ELEMENTARY BOOKS.

Noel and Chapsal's French Grammar, translated into English, by A. BARNETT. 12mo. *bds.* 3s.

Neveu (G. A.) Letters and Conversations, selected from the best writers, for the use of English Students, to facilitate the practice of translating from English into French, with Notes, by G. A. NEVEU, Author of "Exercises on Past Participles, adapted from the French for the use of English Students." Post 8vo. *Cloth.* 3s 6d.

This work is divided into two parts; the first containing selections from French authors, literally translated into English for the purpose of retranslation; the second consisting solely of selections from the works of English authors.

KEY to the same, *cloth bds.* 3s 6d.

Fouqué's Jahreszeiten. 4 parts in one volume. 8vo. *Cloth.* 7s 6d.

Or separately: UNDINE. *Sewed.* 1s 6d. *Cloth.* 2s. SINTRAM UND SEINE GEFÄHRTEN. *Sewed.* 2s 6d. *Cloth.* 3s. DIE BEIDEN HAUPTLEUTE. *Sewed.* 1s 6d. *Cloth.* 2s. ASLAUGA'S RITTER. *Sewed.* 1s 6d. *Cloth.* 2s.

Cottin's Elisabeth, ou les Exilés de Sibérie. A new edition, with English Vocabulary, by M. BERTRAND (Bertrand's French School Classics, No. IV.) 12mo. *Cloth.* 2s

Saint-Pierre (B. de) Paul et Virginie. A new edition, with English Vocabulary, by M. BERTRAND (Bertrand's French School Classics, No. V.) 12mo. *Cloth.* 2s

Euripidis Ion, Greek Text, with Notes for Beginners, Introduction, and Questions for Examination, by the Rev. Ch. BADHAM, D.D., Head Master of the Edgbaston Proprietary School. 8vo. *Cloth.* 3s 6d

This edition has already been adopted at Eton, Rugby, Birmingham, and several other Grammar Schools.

Ihne's Short Latin Syntax, with copious Exercises and Vocabulary, by Dr. W. Ihne, Principal of Carlton Terrace School, Liverpool. 12mo. *Cloth.* Second edition, carefully revised. 3s 6d.

Buchheim's Nouveau Théâtre Français. Modern French Plays, edited for Schools, with idiomatic notes and a complete Vocabulary. Part I. Les deux petits Savoyards—le Mousse. 12mo. *Cloth.* 2s 6d.

Lamé Fleury's Histoire de France racontée à la Jeunesse, edited for the use of English students, with notes by A. BELJAME. 12mo. *Cloth.* 3s 6d.

Aus Goethe's Italienischer Reise. Sketches of Travels in Italy by Goethe. The German Text, with Idiomatic and Grammatical Notes, and Questions for Conversation and a complete Vocabulary by Dr. A. BUCHHEIM, Professor of German, King's College, London. 12mo. *Cloth.* 2s 6d

Buchheim's French Prose and Poetical Reader, [Ahn-Buchheim's French Method, part 3] 2nd edition. 12mo. *Cloth.* 1s 6d

Roche (Antonin) Grammaire Française, Adoptée par le Conseil Impérial de l'instruction publique pour les Lycées et les Collèges de France. Nouvelle Edition. A l'usage des Anglais. Par A. Roche, Examinateur à l'Université de Londres, Directeur de l'Éducationnelle Institute. 12mo. *Cloth bds.* 2s

Barrère (P.) les Écrivains Français, leur vie et leurs œuvres; ou l'histoire de la Littérature Française. Par P. BARRÈRE, Membre de l'Université de France, ancien professeur de Français à l'Académie Royale Militaire de Woolwich, etc. etc. 8vo. *Cloth.* 6s 6d

Ahn's French School Grammar and Exercises.—

Complete Theoretical and Practical French Grammar, with Exercises. Improved and adapted for the Use of English Schools, with Notes by Professor A. BUCHHEIM, Editor of Ahn's Complete French Course, etc. 400 pp. crown 8vo. *Cloth.* 5s

Or separately—

—— French School Grammar, 208 pp. *Cloth,* 3s

—— Exercises for the School Grammar. *Cloth,* 2s 6d

This is the first English adaptation of Ahn's French Grammar, which was originally designed for the use of higher schools and colleges in Germany, where it has gone through *twenty-one editions*. It is distinguished from its rivals by a superior systematic arrange-

ment, and an elegance in the expression of the rules, which places it above the level of ordinary professional works. Copious examples have been diffused throughout the Grammar, illustrating nearly every rule and peculiarity of the French language.

Ahn's Practical French Method. [Buchheim's Edition.]

A new, practical, and easy Method of Learning the French Language, adapted for the use of English Students. By Professor A. Buchheim. First Course. Third Edition. 12mo. *Cloth,* 1s 6d

—— French Method [Buchheim's Edition.] 2nd

Course. Exercises, Dialogues, Tales, Letters, a Play, and Vocabularies. 12mo. *Cloth,* 1s 6d

—— Course I. II. together in 1 vol. *Cloth.* 3s

—— Key to Exercises in Course I. II. each 8d

—— French Method. Part 3. A French Prose

and Poetical Reader by Dr. A. Buchheim. Second Edition. 12mo. *Cloth.* 1s 6d

"This new edition of Dr. Ahn's celebrated 'Method of Learning the French Language' has been undertaken for the simple reason that there does not yet exist a correct and complete English edition, although in Germany it has passed through *one hundred*

editions. The so-called 'improved' and 're-modelled' English publications are all more or less imperfect, and some have entirely deviated from the author's original method."

Preface by the Editor.

Schmidt's German Reading Book for Beginners.

A Companion to the German Guide. 1s 6d

Schmidt (J. A. F.) German Guide, a Practical and

Easy German Method for Beginners; Rules, Exercises, Grammatical Questions, and Vocabulary. Course I. II. 2nd Edition. In one vol. 12mo. *Cloth.* 3s

—— the same. 1st Course. 2nd Edition. 12mo. *Cloth.* 1s 6d

—— the same. 2nd Course. 2nd Edition. 12mo. *Cloth.* 1s 6d

—— the same. 3rd Course, for more advanced Students. 12mo. *Cloth.* 1s 6d

A Key to the 1st and 2nd Course. Price 2s | A Key to the 3rd Course. Price 2s

The author of the above works has been for a long time a successful teacher in this country, and they are the results of many years experience and labour.

Schmidt. The Boy and the Bible, a Tale by L.

Storch. German Text, and an interlinear translation on the Hamiltonian System. 2nd Edition. *Cloth.* 2s 6d

*Works in the Press.***Cureton (Rev. Dr.) Ancient Syriac Documents**

relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring Countries, from the year after our Lord's Ascension to the beginning of the Fourth Century. Discovered, edited, translated, and annotated by W. CURETON, D.D. Canon of Westminster. 1 vol. 4to. (*nearly ready.*)

Lubbock (J.) Prehistoric Archæology, or Essays on

the Primitive Condition of Man, in Europe and America. By JOHN LUBBOCK, F.R.S. President of the Ethnological Society. 1 vol. 8vo. with numerous woodcut illustrations.

Stark (James, M.D.) On the Inspiration of the

Scriptures, shewing the Testimony which they themselves bear as to their own Inspiration. By JAMES STARK, M.D., F.R.S.E., Author of "the Westminster Confession of Faith critically compared with the Holy Scriptures, &c." (1 vol. crown 8vo.)

Uhland's Poems, translated from the German by

the REV. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

Barlow (H. C.) Critical, Historical, and Philosophical

Contributions to the Study of the DIVINA COMMEDIA. (1 vol. royal 8vo. with facsimiles)

Kirkus (Rev. W., L.L.B.) Orthodoxy, Scripture and

Reason: an Examination of some of the principal Articles of the Creed of Christendom. (1 vol. 8vo.)

I Poeti Italiani. A Selection of Extracts from

Modern Italian Poets (from Alfieri to the present time). With explanatory notes and a short biographical notice of each author, by LOUISA A. MERIVALE. (1 vol. post 8vo.)

Hardy (R. Spence) The Sacred Books of the Budd-

hists, compared with History and Modern Science. 1 vol. 8vo.

An Arabic Chrestomathy, with complete Glossary,

by W. WRIGHT, MS. Department, British Museum. (1 vol. 8vo.)

Exercices Epistolaires à l'Usage des Etrangers qui

désirent se perfectionner dans la pratique de la correspondance française, suivis d'un choix de lettres tirées des meilleurs Ecrivains contemporains. Par V. RICHON, Bachelier-ès-Lettres à l'Université de Paris.

Richon (V.) Exercices de Conversation, ou Recueil

de Scènes tirées des œuvres de nos meilleurs auteurs dramatiques contemporains.

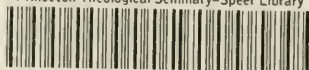
Coleman (W. H.) Biblical Papers; being the Remains

of the late Rev. W. H. COLEMAN, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge.

BS1192 .C69

Biblical papers : being remains of W.H.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00053 3986